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The New Brunswick Magazine

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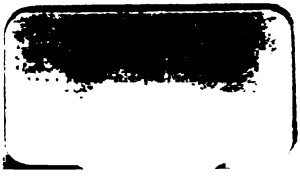
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THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE

Volume 1. July - December.

ST. JOHN, N. B.

WILLIAM KILBY REYNOLDS, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

1898.

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ERRATA.—Page 131, last line, for T. W. Peters read Benjamin L. Peters; page 144, line 8, for mill pond read mast pond; page 147, Thomas Hutchinson was the last royal governor of Massachusetts, not Thomas Gage.

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JULY, 1898.

Convent, Land.

The New Brunswick Magazine

VOL I. No. 1.

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ST. JOHN, N. B.

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The New Brunswick Magazine.

VOL. I. JULY, 1898. No. 1

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION.

It has been said, by one well qualified to give an opinion, that the first number of a newspaper should be carefully edited, set up, printed—and destroyed before it is issued. In other words, a publisher ought to have an experimental issue for his own benefit, in order that he may see how much it lacks in matter and style, and then, upon the basis of its deficiencies, he should issue a number for the public. Whatever the reader may think of the first issue of a periodical, it seldom comes up to the ideal of its projector, if he be a man who has a knowledge of his business and who puts some conscience into it, and his consolation is that succeeding numbers will more fully develop the plan on which his publication is to be conducted. This is quite true of the first issue of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE, in regard to the editorial departments. In future numbers it is hoped these will be much more complete, and that they will include a wider range of topics of general interest.

No apology is needed for the contributors to the first number, however, for their topics are well chosen and admirably treated. Each writer discusses something of which he has a special knowledge and to which he has given careful study. More particular

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reference to the contributors and their work will be found in the proper department.

The idea of a New Brunswick magazine became developed during the latter part of April, and a brief circular was sent out with a view of ascertaining how far such a publication was likely to meet with support. Such replies as were received were of a very encouraging character, and since then the list of subscribers has been steadily growing until it has reached a size which warrants the issue of the magazine without a prospect of failure. It remains for the public to encourage the magazine to such an extent that it may be more than merely self sustaining, and that it may be so increased in size and general features as to be well worthy of the people and the country which it aims to represent.

Mingled with the encouragement received so far, has been just a little of the pessimistic side of the question. Some who have kindly subscribed have intimated their belief that the venture will not be a financial success. Having this view, they deserve thanks all the more for being willing to take the chances, even though they cannot be commended for the prudence which has marked the conduct of those who have made this a reason for declining to subscribe. It may reassure both classes to learn that arrangements have been made to issue the magazine for at least one year, whether the venture proves profitable or otherwise.

It is quite true that the history of magazines in the Maritime Provinces give ground for some predictions of failure in this instance. That phase of the question has been fully considered, however, and in the light of the knowledge of past failures it is hoped that at least some of the mistakes of others may be avoided. This is why the magazine has been started with a

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minimum of 48 pages and why illustrations are not promised. At a later date it is intended that the number of pages shall be materially increased.

The objects of THE MAGAZINE are set out in the prospectus. Its special field is the Maritime Provinces and the colonies which have an historic connection with them. While history will be dealt with in a popular style, it will also be treated exhaustively, and it is believed that much will be brought out of which little has heretofore been known. The term "history," used in its broad and general sense, will include such topics as are suggested in Prof. W. F. Ganong's "Plan for a General History," * such as the physical features and natural history of the country, its material resources, its ethnology, early exploration and later settlement, family history, bibliography, chronological data, current literature and much else in regard to the provinces and their people. Under these heads, it will be seen, are included all that relates to this part of Canada in the past, with much that pertains to the present and has a direct bearing on the future.

It will thus be seen that the scope of the magazine is a broad one, and that when the relation of these colonies to the rest of America is considered, the field is larger than would at first thought be supposed. While the title is that of THE "NEW BRUNSWICK" MAGAZINE, this does not imply that only New Brunswick interests are to be considered. To a large extent, doubtless, this province will be to the front, but so far as opportunity offers the interests of the other Maritime Provinces will have a due share of attention. Contributors from all sections may rely on receiving a cordial welcome.

The purpose of the magazine is to deal with facts rather than fancies. It has been the laudable motive of some of the magazines of the past to develop and

*Trans. Royal Society of Canada, 1895.

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foster native literature of all kinds, and to this end speculative essays were welcomed on account of the writers rather than from the merits of the subjects treated. Verse, and some of it of a very high character, was another feature of those publications. In this way, however, much was printed that did not interest the great body of readers, or when it did interest it failed to instruct. Too much energy was applied to little purpose. An early instance of this was seen in the "Amaranth," published by Robert Shives, in the forties. It was a very good magazine of its kind, but it has no value today except as a curiosity. Its articles, of themselves, give no information which renders them worthy of preservation. "Stewart's Quarterly" was on a better plan, and was an admirable publication to which some of the best writers in Canada contributed, but it too included the whole field of literature and there was necessarily much of the abstract and speculative in its composition, though, unlike the "Amaranth", it has a value today for the many good things it did contain. Had it been continued and developed by Mr. Stewart to the present time, there would have been no field for THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE.

The present publication does not aim to be a vehicle for purely literary effort outside of the lines laid down in the prospectus. It is on a wholly different plan from any previous publication in thes provinces, for it is devoted to the diffusion of information in respect to the country and its people. It will be an educator in the highest sense of the term, and it will contain much that can be had from no other source. The contributors include those who go out of the beaten paths for their material, and who gather their facts from original sources which are not easily accessible to the general student. For this reason every volume of THE MAGAZINE will be a book of rare information and

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interest, and copies of the monthly numbers will have a value which time cannot diminish and will in all probability greatly increase.

That there should be a field for such a magazine is beyond question. With a long experience in various kinds of journalism and a knowledge of what people want, it is the belief of the publisher that THE MAGAZINE will at least succeed sufficiently to become self-sustaining, even though there may be little margin for profit and no room whatever for a dream of wealth.

The publisher would be ungrateful indeed if he did not put on record his warm appreciation of the offers of assistance he has had from writers and students at home and at a distance. Some notable names will be recognized in the list of those who have already expressed their willingness to contribute from time to time, and other notable names will be announced a little later. In nearly every instance where names are given, the offer of assistance has been voluntary. Indeed, up to the present time, apart from one or two letters to personal friends, there has been no soliciting of assistance nor has there in any instance been a canvass for subscriptions or advertisements, apart from the issue of the early circular and a prospectus. The desire was to get what was practically a voluntary expression of opinion. Now that the magazine is established, however, it will be in order to adopt the usual business methods to ensure the continued success of the publication.

Having thus introduced THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE to its readers, the publication can hereafter speak for itself. It is more easy than it is wise to promise much at the outset, but the public may rest assured that every effort will be made to increase the value of the magazine in proportion to the support it may continue to receive. W. K. REYNOLDS.

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AT PORTLAND POINT.

THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT AT ST. JOHN.

All that has hitherto been published with regard to the founding of the first permanent English Settlement at the mouth of the river St. John is of a fragmentary character. The story really remains to be written, and in view of the abundant materials available it is a matter of surprise that some competent hand has not long since been found to undertake the task.

As early as the year 1755, Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia suggested to Sir Wm. Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, the desirability of establishing a fortified post on the St. John river: he also recommended that steps should be taken to induce the people of New England to occupy the lands left vacant by the removal of the Acadians as well as other eligible situations in Nova Scotia—which colony at that time included the present province of New Brunswick. In reply, Sir Wm. Shirley expressed the opinion that all that could then be attempted was to make known as widely as possible the terms on which the lands would be granted, coupled with an assurance of protection for the settlers from the French and Indians, whom they had come to regard as their hereditary enemies. Unfortunately for the designs of the two royal governors, the exigencies of the war then being waged with France required the withdrawal of most of the forces stationed in Nova Scotia, and Governor Lawrence was unable either to secure possession of the St. John river, where Boisherbert the French commander has established himself, or to garrison the fort at St. John harbor captured by Captain Rous the previous summer.

Meanwhile the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who

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largely controlled the British colonial policy, advised Lawrence to promote the development of his province in every practicable way, expressing their opinion that their should be no difficulty in obtaining settlers from the other colonies. Although this idea was quite in accord with the governor's own mind, he was obliged to plead his inability to induce the New England people to settle on frontier lands as long as they "ran the risk of having their throats cut by inveterate enemies who effected their escape by their knowledge of every creek and corner." He added that as he could not spare the troops necessary to defend new settlements nothing could be done "till the country was possessed in peace."

The threatening attitude of Boisherbert however determined the British to establish a fortified post at the mouth of the St. John, where the French had again taken possession ot their old fort on the point of land opposite Navy Island. Accordingly, in the summer of 1758, an expedition, consisting of three ships of war and two transports, having on board a regiment of Highlanders and one of New England troops, left Boston for the St. John river. A landing was effected near Negro Point, and after making their way with some difficulty through the woods, the attacking party advanced against the fort from the land side. They were repulsed in their first attack, but in a second attempt were more successful and the fort was carried by storm. The defences were found to be very weak, there being but two small cannon in position. The French lost about forty killed and a number of prisoners, the remainder escaping in boats and canoes up the river. The sloop Ulysses which attempted to follow them was wrecked in the falls. The fort was now occupied by a British garrison of some 200 men, its defences were improved and barracks built for the accommodation of the troops.

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On the 12th of October, 1758, the first of the now celebrated proclamations of Governor Lawrence was issued, offering favorable terms to such industrious settlers as might be disposed to remove to Nova Scotia and cultivate the lands vacated by the French or any unsettled parts of the province. This had the effect of directing attention to the St. John river, as well as to other localities. Young and adventurous spirits came to the fore as pioneers of civilization, among them James Simonds, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, to whom undoubtedly belongs the honor of being the founder of the first permanent settlement at the mouth of the St. John. The circumstances that induced Mr. Simonds to come to St. John are thus detailed in one of his letters * now in possession of the writer of this article:—

In the years 1759 and 1760 proclamations were published by his Majestys order through the colonies (some of which I can now produce) which promised all the lands and possessions of the Acadians who had been removed or any other lands lying within the Province of Nova Scotia to such as would become settlers there. In consequence of these proclamations I went through the greatest part of Nova Scotia, in time of war at very great expense and at the risk of my life in search of the best lands and situations, and having at length determined to settle at the River St. John, obtained a promise from Government of large tracts of lands for myself and Brother Richard who was with me in several of my tours.

Mr. Simonds states in another document, a copy of which is also in the writer's possession, that he obtained from the government of Nova Scotia the promise of a grant of 5000 acres of land in such part of the province as he should choose, and that in the year 1762, in company with his brother, he by virtue of this arrangement took possession of the great marsh to the east of St. John, called by the Indians Seebaskastagan, where they cut a quantity of salt hay and began to make improvements. The letter from which we have just quoted continues:—

The accounts which I gave to my friends in New England of the abundance of Fish in the River and the convenience of taking them, of the extensive Fur

*The letter referred to is dated Jan. 28, 1788, and is addressed by James Simonds to his former partners, Messrs. Hazen and White. It was rescued from an old pile of rubbish some months ago.

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trade of the country and the natural convenience of burning Lime, caused numbers of them to make proposals to be concerned with me in those branches of business, among whom Mr. Hazen was the first that joined me in a trial. Afterwards in the year 1764, although I was unwilling that any should be sharers with me in the certain benefits of the fur trade, which I had acquired some knowledge of, yet by representations that superior advantage could be derived from a Cod fishery on the Banks and other branches of commerce which I was altogether unacquainted with I joined in a contract for carrying it on for that year upon an extensive plan with Messrs. Blodget, Hazen, White, Peaslie and R. Simonds.

When Mr. Simonds first visited the St. John river the Indian were hostile to the English, but the capture of Quebec and the consequent discomfiture of their French allies inclined them to sue for peace, and a treaty was made at Halifax by the Chiefs of St. John and Passamaquoddy early in the year 1760. In accordance with this treaty an Indian trading post was to be established near Fort Frederick, at the mouth of the river, and a tariff of prices was arranged which the savages were to receive for furs and peltries and to pay for such supplies, etc., as they needed.

The complete ascendancy of the English over the Acadians on the river St. John was secured by one of the most cruel and unjustifiable forays that ever sullied the annals of civilized warfare. The story in brief is as follows:—

In the month of March, 1759, a company of rangers under Captain McCurdy started up the St. John river, on snowshoes, to strike a blow at the French settlements. The first night they encamped on a hillside near the mouth of the Belleisle river. Here the party had the misfortune to lose their commander, Capt. McCurdy, who was killed by the falling of a birch tree cut by one of his own men. Lieut. Moses Hazen * succeeded to the command and under him the party proceeded to Ste. Anne's Point, where they set

*Moses Hazen was a cousin of James Simonds and a brother of Wm. Hazen one of the preloyalist settlers of St. John. He distinguished himself under Gen. Wolfe on the plains of Abraham. He fought against the British in the Revolutionary war, raised a corps known as "Hazen's own", and attained the rank of Major General in the American army.

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fire to the chapel and other buildings and ruthlessly killed the inhabitants with little regard to age or sex. On their return they treated the settlements at Oromocto, Grimross and Nerepis in much the same fashion. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Commander in Chief of the forces in America, refers to this transaction in two of his letters to Governor Lawrence. He says in the first: "You will have heard of the accident poor Capt. McCurdy met with as likewise of the success of his Lieut. in demolishing the settlements at St. Anne's. On the recommendation of Major Scott I have preferred Lt. Hazen to Capt McCurdy's Company." In the second letter he writes: "Major Morris sent me the particulars of the scouting party and I gave a commission of Captain to Lieut. Hazen as I thought he deserved it. I am sorry to say what I have since heard of that affair has sullied his merit with me as I shall always disapprove of killing women and helpless children: poor McCurdy is a loss he was a good man in his post."

Confirmation of the barbarity practised on the occasion is found in the journal of Rev. Jacob Bailey of Pownalboro' Maine, a prominent Loyalist and afterwards Rector of Annapolis, N. S. * Mr. Bailey on the night of Dec. 13, 1759, chanced to lodge at Norwood's inn in Lynn, and speaking of the company he found there he says: "We had among us a soldier belonging to Capt. Hazen's company of Rangers, who declared that several Frenchmen were barbarously murdered by them after quarters were given, and the villain added, I suppose to show his importance, that he split the head of one asunder after he fell on his knees to implore mercy. A specimen of New England clemency."

When James Simonds first visited St. John he was a young man of about twenty-five years of age. He was descended from Samuel Simonds of Essex,

*See Bartlets "Frontier Missionary," p. 48.

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England, who came to America in 1630 with Governor Winthrop. His father Nathaniel Simonds of Haverhill, Mass., married Sarah Hazen, whose brother Moses was father of Capt. Moses Hazen just referred to as leader of the party of Rangers that destroyed the French settlements on the River St. John, and also father of William Hazen of Newburyport, who came to St. John in 1775. It is possible that the presence of Capt. Moses Hazen with the garrison at Fort Frederick may have led James Simonds to visit the place in the first instance. Mr. Simonds was a man of good education, resolute character, shrewd and enterprising. He was, moreover, possessed of a robust constitution, as is seen in the fact that in spite of the hardships and privations of his early life in St. John he survived all his contemporaries, as well as every official and appointee of the crown at the time of the organization of the province, and every member of the first provincial legislature, and quietly departed this life at his old residence at Portland Point Feb. 20, 1831, at the patriarchal age of 96 years.

About the same time that Mr. Simonds was laying his plans for establishing a fishing and trading post at the mouth of the St. John, Captain Francis Peabody, Israel Perley and others, were making arrangements for the settlement of the Township of Maugerville, and it appears that in the year 1762, James Simonds came with Capt. Peabody and his son Samuel Peabody, Hugh Quinton and some others to St. John in a small vessel from Newburyport. There were about twenty in the party besides the families of Captain Peabody and Hugh Quinton.

A frame for a small dwelling house with boards, to cover it, was brought by Capt. Peabody in the vessel, also a small stock of cattle. The spot selected for the erection of the house was near the site of an old French

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fort at Portland Point, and by the united efforts of the party it was erected, enclosed, and on the third day after their arrival inhabited. The women and children had meanwhile found shelter at the barracks on the other side of the harbor, and there on the same night of their arrival, August 28, 1762, was born James Quinton, the first child of English speaking parents whose birth is recorded at St. John. Capt. Peabody's daughter Hannah, then a girl of fourteen, was among those who found shelter at the barracks until the house at Portland Point was fit for their reception. She afterwards became the wife of James Simonds, and her sisters Elizabeth and Hephzibah married respectively James White and Jonathan Leavitt. Capt. Francis Peabody had served with distinction in the "Seven Years War," * and from the active part he took in effecting the settlement of the Township of Maugerville, as well as from his age and character, he must be justly regarded as the most prominent and influential person on the St. John river while he lived. He died in the year 1773.

The unstable condition of affairs during the war with France had for some time precluded any serious attempt at settlement along the northern shore of the Bay of Fundy, and the New England traders and fishermen who resorted thither were for the most part adventurers. With the return of peace the more enterprising spirits began to make arrangements for securing a foothold against rival traders.

James Simonds and his brother, in the first instance, established themselves at St. John merely with the tacit approval of the Nova Scotia authorities and of the commander of the garrison at Fort Frederick. It was not until three years later that they obtained their first grant of land.

In the grants issued by the government at this

* See Parkman's "Wolfe and Montcalm," p. 428.

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period a provision was inserted requiring the payment to the crown of "a free yearly quit rent of one shilling sterling for every 50 acres, the first payment to be made on Michaelmas day next after the expiration of ten years from the date of the grant." In order to prolong the period when the payment of quit rents would be necessary, many of the early settlers delayed taking out their grants. James Simonds tells us that he deferred taking out his grant for this reason, thinking that with the exception of a fishing station, the lime quarries and the marsh, the lands in the vicinity of St. John were not even worth the quit rents. However, before long rival traders appeared upon the scene and the securing of his situation became an object of importance. An entry in the minutes of the Council of Nova Scotia records that on Aug. 9, 1763, license was given to John Anderson to occupy 50 acres of any lands unappropriated on the St. John river until further orders from government, and under date June 7, 1765 we have the following :—

Licence is hereby granted to John Anderson to Traffick with the Tribes of Indians on St. John's River and in the Bay of Fundy he conducting himself without Fraud or Violence and submitting himself to the observance of such regulations as may at any time hereafter be established for the better ordering of such commerce. This licence to continue during pleasure.

A similar license was granted the same year to Capt. Isaac Caton "to traffick with the Indians on Saint John's River and the Bay of Fundy." These licenses for trade with the Indians were issued in accordance with the proclamation of George III, given at the Court of St. James, October 7, 1763, as is shown by the following extract :—

And we do by the advice of our privy council declare and enjoin that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians do take out a licence for carrying on such trade from the governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit by ourselves, or commissioners to be appointed for this purpose, to direct or appoint for the benefit of the said trade.

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The growing importance of St. John as a trading centre is indicated by other references to the locality scattered through the minutes of the proceedings of the Governor in Council; among them the following shows that the excellence of the lime stone had attracted the attention of the imperial authorities at an early date.

Licence is hereby granted Jonathan Hoar, Esq., * to carry Lime Stone from Musquash Cove at St. John's River to Annapolis Royal for the repairing of the Fortifications there. Given under my hand and seal at Halifax, October 1, 1763.

(Signed) MONTAGU WILMOT.

Of those who came to St. John with Capt. Francis Peabody in 1762, only Samuel Peabody and one or two others appear to have settled at the mouth of the river, the remainder removed shortly afterwards to Maugerville, where a township had been assigned to them. The small dwelling erected at Portland Point by Capt. Peabody became the property of his son-in-law, James Simonds, but was for some years the residence of James White.

In the year 1763 James and Richard Simonds were actively engaged in the fishery and trading business at St. John and Passamaquondy in conjunction with their relative William Hazen, a young and enterprising merchant of Newburyport who provided the necessary supplies. They had several men in their employ, among them Samuel Middleton, a cooper, and Anthony Dyer; these remained at St. John the first winter. Others of those engaged in the employ of Simonds and his partners seem to have had a previous acquaintance with St. John harbor; Moses Genough for example was there in 1758, and Lemuel Cleveland in 1757 when he says "the French had a fort at Portland Point where Mr. Simonds house was afterwards built."

In order to carry on the business at St. John on an extensive scale, James Simonds decided to form a company for the purpose, but first he made sure of his

*Colonel Jonathan Hoar: See Murdoch's Hist. N. S., Vol. II, p. 378.

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situation by procuring the following license from the governor of Nova Scotia:—

> Licence is hereby granted to James Simonds to occupy a tract or point of land on the north side of St. John's River, opposite Fort Frederick, for carrying on a fishery and for burning lime stone, the said tract or point of land containing by estimation ten acres. (Signed) MONTAGU WILMOT.
>
> Halifax, Feb. 8, 1764.

The accounts that James Simonds gave his friends in New England of the admirable situation he had secured for himself caused numbers of them to make proposals to be concerned with him in the business about to be undertaken, of whom Wm. Hazen was the first that joined him in a trial. Mr. Hazen had intimate business connections with Samuel Blodget a merchant of Boston, and the latter became a partner in the enterprise. It was agreed that Messrs. Blodget, Hazen and Simonds should each have one fourth part in the company about to be organized, and that the remainder should be taken by Richard Simonds, James White and Robert Peaslie as junior partners. The partnership was in its way "a family compact," Richard Simonds being a younger brother of James Simonds, while Robert Peaslie had married Mr. Hazen's sister Anna, and James White had been for some years a clerk in Mr. Blodget's employ, and was moreover a cousin of Mr. Hazen.

Articles of partnership * were carefully drawn up and signed on March 1st, 1764, under which it was arranged that Messrs. Blodget and Hazen should remain at Boston and Newburyport to forward supplies and receive whatever was sent them in return, and James Simonds, with Messrs. White, Peaslie, and R. Simonds as his aides, should proceed immediately to St. John and there "enter upon and pursue with all speed and faithfulness the business of the cod fishery, seine fishery, fur trade, burning of lime and every other

*See Collections N. B. Hist. Soc. Vol. 1. p. 187.

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trading business that shall be thought advantageous to the company."

Accordingly Messrs. Simonds and White, with a party of about thirty hands, embarked on board the schooner Wilmot, Wm. Story, master, for the scene of operations. They left Newburyport about the 10th of April, arriving at Passamaquoddy on the 14th and at St. John on the 18th. The names of these pioneers of commerce at St. John were Jonathan Leavitt, Jonathan Simonds, Samuel Middleton, Peter Middleton, Edmund Black, Moses True, Reuben Stevens, John Stevens, John Boyd, Moses Kimball, Benjamin Dow, Simon Ayers, Thomas Jenkins, Batcheldor Ring, Rowley Andros, Edmund Butler, John Nason, Reuben Mace, Benjamin Wiggins, John Lovering, John Hookey, Reuben Sergeant, Benjamin Stanwood, Benjamin Winter, Anthony Dyer, Webster Emerson, George Cary, John Hunt, George Berry, Simeon Hillyard, Ebenezer Fowler, William Picket, and Ezekiel Carr.

Quite a number of these men became permanent settlers in the country and their descendants today are numerous and respectable.

Some months ago the writer of this article found in a pile of rubbish that had been thrown out of the old Ward Chipman house some old account books in a fair state of preservation, containing in part the transactions of Messrs. Simonds and White while in business in St. John. One of these, a book of nearly 100 pages, ordinary foolscap size, with stout paper cover, is of especial interest. At the top of the first page are the words

1764, St. John River,
Day Book No. 1.

This book is intact and very creditably kept. The entries are in the hand writing of James White. It contains the record of the initial transactions of the first business firm established at St. John one hundred and

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thirty four years ago. The accounts during the continuance of the partnership were kept in New England currency or "Lawful money of Massachusetts." The letters L.M. were frequently affixed in order to distinguish this currency from sterling money or Nova Scotia currency. In early times the value of the Massachusetts or New England currency was in the proportion £1 sterling = £1. 6. 8., L.M. The New Brunswick dollar or five shillings was equivalent to six shillings L. M. It is a fact worth recording that the Massachusetts currency continued to be used in all ordinary business transactions on the St. John river up to the time of the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783. This is only one instance showing how close were the ties that bound the preloyalist settlers of this province to New England, and it is scarcely a matter of surprise that during the Revolutionary war the Massachusetts Congress found many sympathizers on the River St. John.

While accounts were kept according to the currency of New England, very little money was in circulation and the amount of cash handled by Simonds and White was small enough. For years they supplied the settlers at Maugerville with such things as they needed, very often receiving payment in furs and skins, in the securing of which the white inhabitants became such expert hunters and trappers as to arouse the jealousy of the Indians. They also furnished barrel and hogshead staves of white and red oak, boards, shingles, oar rafters, spars, cedar posts and cordwood. Later they were able to furnish farm produce, sheep and cattle; they also were frequently employed in the service of the Company in various ways by Simonds and White. With the Indians the trade was almost entirely one of barter, the staple article being the fur of the Spring beaver. The account books that have been preserved probably do not contain a complete record of all the shipments

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made from St. John by Simonds and White, but they suffice to show that during the period of ten years that elapsed from their settlement in 1764 to the outbreak of the American Revolution (when the ports of Massachusetts were closed against them) they exported 18,250 lbs. of spring beaver skins, and 8,390 lbs. of fall and winter beaver skins, a total of 26,640 lbs. besides 2,265 lbs. of castor, the whole amounting in value to £8,500, according to the invoice prices. As the average weight of a beaver skin was a pound and a half, the number of skins exported must have been at least 40,000. There were other traders engaged in the same business, as appears from Mr. Simond's correspondence. If then this firm alone sent to New England an average of 4,000 beaver skins annually, it is manifest that the fur trade of the St. John river at this period had assumed large proportions.

During the ten years of uninterrupted trade, Simonds and White shipped to New England, in addition to the beaver which was their staple article, skins of all the animals common to the country, including the following:—11,022 Musquash, 6,050 Marten, 870 Otter, 258 Fisher, 522 Mink, 120 Fox, 140 Sable, 74 Racoon, 67 Loupcervier, 8 Woolverene, 5 Bear, 2 Nova Scotia Wolf, 50 Carriboo, 85 Deer, and 1,113 Moose, besides some 3,000 lbs. of feathers, of which articles the value according to invoice prices was £2,795.

The prices at which these furs were quoted one hundred and thirty years ago seem, when compared with those of modern times, to be ridiculously low ; * their total value, however, amounted to the respectable sum of $40,000.

In their business transactions Messrs Simonds and White kept four sets of accounts: one for the Indian

*The prices reduced to modern currency would be about as follows:—Bear skin $1.30, Loupcervier $1.50, Woolverene .66, Racoon .50, Red Fox .60, Black Fox $2.00, Fisher .66, Sable .50, Mink .50, Marten .50, Musquash .09, Deer $1.30, Cariboo $1.50, Moose $2.00, Spring Beaver $1.66, Winter do. $1.38, Fall do. $1.00,

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trade, a second for their business with the white inhabitants of the country, a third for that with their own employees, and a fourth for that with the garrison at Fort Frederick. These old account books contain some curious items. The consumption of rum by the employees, and indeed by all the inhabitants of the country, was something astonishing. The use of rum as a beverage seems to have been quite the universal custom of the day, while on the other hand many apparently did not use tobacco, although the use of snuff boxes shows that the use of snuff was not uncommon. Rum was sold at 1 shilling per quart, tobacco at 8 pence per pound, tea (which was little used) sold at 8 s. per lb. coffee at 1s. 6d. per lb. molasses at 3s. per gallon, sugar at 7d. per lb., gingerbread cakes 2d. each, lemons 3d. each, cheese 9d. per lb., soap 1s. per lb. Among other articles in demand were powder and shot, fishing tackle, flints, cuttoe knives, milled caps, blankets, blue rattan and fear-nothing jackets, woollen and check shirts, horn and ivory combs, silk handkerchiefs, turkey garters, pins and needles, etc. In the course of a few years the variety of articles kept in stock at the store at Portland Point increased surprisingly till it might be said that the company sold everything "from a needle to an anchor," including such things as a variety of crockery and dry goods besides such articles as knee buckles, looking glasses, men's and women's pumps (or best shoes), tin candlesticks, brass door knobs, wool cards, mouse traps, whip saws, mill saws, skates and razors. Writing paper was sold at a penny a sheet or 9d. per half quire. The only books kept in stock were almanacks, psalters, spelling books and primers.

The old account books bear evidence of being well thumbed, for Indian debts were often hard to collect and white men's debts were at least as hard to collect

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in ancient as in modern days. Old and thumbworn as the books are, and written with ink that often had been frozen and with quill pens that often needed mending, they are extremely interesting as relics of the past, and well deserving of a better fate than that which manifestly awaited them when by the merest accident they were rescued from a dismal heap of rubbish.

W. O. RAYMOND.

WHERE STOOD FORT LATOUR?

It is not always the events greatest in historic consequences which are enshrined the deepest in the hearts of a people, but rather those that most exhibit the primal human virtues of valor patience and self-sacrifice. Into such events every man can project himself, and not only understand but feel them. In our own early history there were many occurrences of more importance than the gallant defence by Madame de La Tour of her husband's fort against his arch-enemy Charnisay, but there are none better known or oftener related. The historians of St. John have done the story full justice, and Mr. Hannay in particular has left little for any other to say about it. But if anyone, thoughtful of his country's past, wishes to stand on the spot where these things happened, and to call up in fancy the scenes of that April morning of long ago, whither shall he turn? For no man can this day point with certainty to the site of Fort LaTour.

Ample records exist to prove that the fort stood at the mouth of the St. John, but they allow room for difference of opinion as to whether it stood on the east or west side. It is placed on the east side on the map in Volume I of the superb new Jesuit Relations (under the name Fort St. Jean), and on the map in Greswell's History of Canada. Mr. Hannay thinks it was on the

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west side at the "old fort", and other local historians, including I believe the late Mr. Lawrence, have thought that it stood on the site of Fort Dufferin. Some years ago in examining ancient maps of New Brunswick I was struck by the fact that most of the earlier ones placed it on the east side; and, led thereby to investigate the entire subject from the beginning, I was forced to the conclusion that the fort stood upon the east side, and probably on the knoll at the head of Rankin's wharf at Portland Point. The full evidence for this belief was given, along with reproductions of the old maps, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1891, but as that work is not readily accessible, and as the subject is of some popular interest, I shall give here a synopsis of two of its most important lines of evidence, along with one or two points which have come to light since then.

The only direct reference to the site of Fort La-Tour in any original document known to any of our historians is contained in Nicolas Denys' "Description geographique de l'Amerique septentrionale", published at Paris in 1672. All writers agree on Denys' truthfulness. He knew intimately both LaTour and Charnisay, had visited the St. John River, and after La-Tour's ruin had employed some of his men. His authority on this question must be of the highest. And here is a literal translation of what he writes of St. John Harbor.

This entrance is narrow, because of a little island which is to larboard or on the left side, which being passed the river is much larger. On the same side as the island there are large marshes or flats which are covered at high tide; the beach is of muddy sand which makes a point, which passed, there is a cove (or creek) which makes into the said marshes, of which the entrance is narrow, and there the late Sieur Monsieur de la Tour has caused to be made a weir, in which were caught a great number of those Gaspereaux which were salted for winter, [here follows an account of the fish caught]. A little farther on, beyond the said weir, there is a little knoll where d'Aunay built his fort, which I have not found well placed according to my idea, for it is commanded by an island which is very

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near and higher ground, and behind which all ships can place themselves under cover from the fort, in which there is only water from pits, which is not very good, no better than that outside the fort. It would have been in my opinion better placed behind the island where vessels anchor, and where it would have been higher, and in consequence not commanded by other neighboring places, and would have had good water, as in that which was built by the said late Sieur de la Tour, which was destroyed by d'Aunay after he had wrongfully taken possession of it, etc.

If the impartial reader who knows the harbor well, will follow carefully this account, or better if he will read it in comparison with Bruce's fine old map of 1761 which shows the harbor untouched by modern improvements, I think he will agree that Denys has given a good description of the harbor, that the island on the left of the entrance is Partridge Island, that the flats were those at Carleton now partly included in the Millpond, that the beach of muddy sand making a point was Sand Point, that the cove or creek making into the sand marshes was the creek, clearly shown on Bruce's map, at the present outlet of the Millpond, that the knoll a little farther on was the slight elevation on which stands the "old fort" in Carleton. On this knoll, says Denys, d'Aunay (Charnisay) built his fort, and further evidence of the identity of this knoll is given in his statement that the fort was commanded by an island [i. e. Navy Island] very near, behind which [i. e. in the channel] vessels could lie under cover from the fort, and that it had bad water. It may seem an objection that he makes the island higher than the fort site, but the island has washed away much in recent times, and the successive forts afterwards built at the "old fort" point must have raised that site somewhat. But aside from this we have important independent testimony that the fort site was really commanded by the island, in the following statement made in 1701 by the Sieur de Brouillan in describing the French fort which then stood on this point in Carleton,—"it is

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commanded on one side by an island at the distance of a pistol shot", and he also speaks of its bad water—(Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia, Vol. I, page 249). Moreover, while Denys description of the location of d'Aunay's fort applies thus perfectly to the Carleton site, it fits no other about the harbor. Charnisay's fort then stood at Carleton, but where was LaTour's? Here Denys is not so clear, and all that we can gather with certainty from his account is that it was *not* on the "old fort" site in Carleton.

The testimony of the maps is in brief as follows: Many maps showing Acadia were published before 1700. Of these some are but copies of others and hence of no value as authorities, but I know of at least four made entirely independently of one another, which place Fort LaTour on the east side of the harbor. In fact, all the maps known to me belonging before 1700 which mark Fort LaTour at all, place it on the east side, with but one exception. This is the fine Duval map which in the editions of 1653 and 1664, as I have been told (I have not seen them) places it on the west side. But the third and improved edition of 1677 removes it from the west to the east side. Now second or later editions of maps like later editions of books are likely to be more accurate than the first, and DuVal must have had good reason for making this change. Another map of much importance has recently been published, (in a fine French Atlas by Marcel) drawn by Franquelin, dated 1708, but really made earlier. Franquelin was in Acadia in 1686 and made by far the best map of the St. John River which had up to that time been drawn, (a copy of which is contained in the the latest volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,) and he therefore knew well the geography of this region. On his 1708 map he marks Fort Martinnon on the west side of the harbor,

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and Fort LaTour on the east. The former was of course that of the Sieur Martignon, who was granted the west side of the harbor in seigniory in 1676, but that Franquelin placed Fort LaTour on the east side is significant. After 1700 several maps appeared which placed this fort on the west side of the harbor, no doubt through confusion of it with that built at Carleton by Villebon, and this is the case in the fine maps of Bellin made before 1755. In 1757 however Bellin, the greatest French mapmaker of the last century, issued a much corrected map of Acadia, and in that he not only removes Fort LaTour from the west to the east side but places before the name the significant word "Ancien", so that it reads "Ancien F. LaTour." Bellin had access to the remarkably rich collections of ancient maps in the French "Depot des Cartes" and that he should have changed his earlier maps and especially have added the significant word "ancient" must be given weight in this argument. This is but the barest outline, but I may summarize the whole matter by saying that I know of no piece of evidence drawn from maps tending to show that the fort was on the west side; it all points to the east side.

If now we seek for a possible site for the fort upon the east side, we find that but a single site of an old fort has been recorded, that at Portland Point. Had any other existed it could hardly have completely escaped notice. Thus Mr. Lawrence (Footprints, page 4) states "Mr. Simonds erected his dwelling on the ruins of an old French Fort, Portland Point", and there is other evidence to show that a fort of considerable importance stood there. Moreover, and this is important, if this fort at Portland Point was not Fort LaTour, our historians have no idea what fort it was.

Denys, then, tells us that Fort LaTour was not at the "old fort" in Carleton; the early maps place it upon

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the east side; but a single fort-site is known on the east side,—that at Portland Point. This is why I think the fort stood on the east side, and probably at Portland Point. It is true these facts do not prove that conclusion; but they seem to me to give it a higher degree of probability than any other theory at present possesses. In any case, these facts are too important to be ignored, and if anyone wishes to establish another view, it will not be enough to give simply the reasons for his own belief, but he must meet and answer this testimony of Denys and the mapmakers, and show either that they were mistaken or else that they have been misinterpreted. But whatever we may think of the evidence, this much is sure, that future students will impartially examine it and give a decision according to its merits. W. F. GANONG.

THE BROTHERS D'AMOURS.

THE FIRST FRENCH SETTLERS ON THE ST. JOHN RIVER.

Most people in New Brunswick, when they speak of the first settlers on the River St. John refer to the Loyalists who came here in 1783, or to the New England men who settled at Maugerville and Sheffield twenty years earlier. Little is ever said, because but little is known, of those French inhabitants of the St. John river who were living on its banks a full century before the era of the Loyalists, and of whom we obtain very fleeting and uncertain glimpses in the official despatches sent by the commandants of Acadia to the French government. Yet these people cannot but be interesting to us who now inhabit the land which they made their home, and if the whole story of their trials and toils could be told we would no doubt find it as full

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of romance as the world has found the story of Evangeline, as related by America's greatest poet. Unfortunately, there is no possibility of going into such details with regard to the early French settlers of the St. John as the poet was able to evolve from his imagination with reference to the fictitious heroine of the Acadian exile. Yet, enough can be gathered from the records of that time to give us a fairly accurate idea of the manner of men who were living on this great river, amidst the vast Acadian wilderness, two hundred years ago.

In 1670 Acadia, which had been seized by the English in 1654, was restored to the French under the terms of the treaty of Breda, and the Chevalier de Grand Fontaine became governor of the colony. The English had held Acadia for sixteen years, yet they had done nothing to increase the number of its inhabitants, and when their fishing establishments were broken up and their forts surrendered to the French, no traces of their occupation remained, with the exception of the fort at Jemseg which they had built, and which was nothing more than a post for trading with the Indians. Fort Jemseg stood on the east side of the St. John river, and just south of the entrance to Grand Lake. It was 120 feet long by 90 wide, enclosed by pickets 18 feet in height. On it were mounted four small guns, and within it was a house for the garrison 60 ft. by 30. Old Fort Latour, at the mouth of the river, was then in ruins, and in 1670 there does not appear to have been a single settler, French or English, on the banks of the St. John from the Bay of Fundy to the river's source. Rich as the territory was in every natural resource, its very vastness and the gloom of the impenetrable forest which shaded the waters of the great river seem to have deterred the humble tiller of the soil from seeking a home there. The great solitude was only broken by the passing of the canoe of the savage or the

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movement of the wild animals of the wooded wilderness.

The commandant on the St. John river in 1670 was Pierre de Joibert, seigneur de Soulanges and Marson, an officer in the French army who had married a daughter of Chartier de Lotbiniere, who had been attorney general of New France. Joibert, although he lived but eight years in Acadia, for he died in 1678, has substantial claims to recognition as an historical figure for he was the father of Elizabeth Joibert, who was born in old Fort Latour in 1673, and who became the wife of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada, and the mother of the second Marquis de Vaudreuil who was the last French governor of Canada. Joibert seems to have wished to become an Acadian seigneur, and he was the first grantee of territory in that part of Acadia now known as New Brunswick, under the terms of the edict made by Louis XIV. on the 20th May 1676. This document authorized Count Frontenac, the governor general, to grant lands in New France, on condition that they should be cleared within six years. Such a condition was impossible of fulfilment, for the grants were too large to be cleared within the time specified unless the grantees had been able to place a host of tenants upon them. On the 12th Oct. 1676, Joibert, who is described in the document as major of Pentagoet (Penobscot) and commandant of the forts of Gemisick (Jemseg) and the river St. John, received a grant of a seignory called Nachouac, to be hereafter called Soulanges, fifteen leagues from Gemisick, two leagues front on each side of the St. John River, and two leagues deep inland. This grant which contained upwards of 46,000 acres of land, embraced not only the territory occupied by Mr. Gibson's town of Marysville, but also the site of Fredericton, St. Mary's and Gibson, so that if Joibert's heirs could lay

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claim to it now they would be multi-millionaires. Four days after the issue of this grant, Joibert obtained a second concession granting him the house or fort of Gemisick, with a league on each side of the fort, making two leagues front on the river and two leagues in depth inland. This second grant was just one half the size of the first, yet it formed a noble domain and included a fort which might easily have been made a formidable place of strength.

When Joibert died in 1678 it does not appear that he had done anything to improve or settle the valuable territory which had been granted to him by the French king. His widow and her children returned to Canada, and we hear nothing more of her in connexion with the affairs of Acadia until 1691, when she received a grant of land on the River St. John of four leagues in front on the river and two leagues in depth, and opposite the grant of M. de Chauffours (called Jemseck) the centre of the grant being opposite the house at Jemseck. This document shows that the grants to Joibert had been escheated or lapsed, and that the territory they embraced had been regranted to other persons. The new grant to the widow was probably intended to compensate her in some measure for the loss of the land granted to her husband, but it does not appear that she ever occupied it or that she was able to sell it to a good purchaser. Land was then too easily obtained from the government to be of much value as a saleable commodity when in private hands.

The Sieur de Chauffours who was in the occupation of the Jemseg territory in 1691 was one of four brothers who had come to Acadia from Quebec in 1684, or perhaps a year or two earlier. They were sons of Mathieu d' Amours, a native of Brittany who emigrated to Quebec and became a member of the Governor's Council in 1663. He was created a member of the Canadian

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Noblesse. From his position in the Council, d'Amours was naturally an influential personage, and, like many a modern public man, he used his power to promote the fortunes of his sons. They all received large grants of land in Acadia, and they all resided on the St. John River where they had very extensive possessions. Louis d'Amours, who assumed the territorial name of Sieur des Chauffours had a grant of the Richibucto and Buctouche Rivers, but he afterwards became possessed of the Jemseg seigniory which had been granted to Joibert. Rene d'Amours, Sieur de Clignacourt, in 1684, obtained a grant of land on the River St. John from Medoctec to the Longue Sault, two leagues in depth on each side. In the same year Mathieu d'Amours, Sieur de Freneuse, was granted the land along the River St. John between Gemesick and Nachouc, two leagues deep on each side of the river. In 1695 Bernard d'Amours, Sieur de Plenne received a grant of the Kennebecasis River "with a league and a half on each side of the said river, by two leagues in depth, and the islands and islets adjucent." Six years earlier the same territory had been granted to Pierre Chesnet, Sieur du Breuil, a resident of Port Royal, but this grant seems to have lapsed because the conditions as to settlement had not been complied with. At all events Bernard d'Amours got the territory which du Breuil had possessed and the latter did not come to this side of the Bay of Fundy.

The four brothers d'Amours may be properly regarded as the first settlers on the River St. John who were not officers of the government. Governor Villebon found them here when he came to Acadia in 1690, and he appears to have conceived a strong prejudice against them. Writing to the minister in Paris in 1695 he complains of the brothers d'Amours, whom he calls *soi disants genteil hommes*. He says,—"They are four

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in number living on the St. John River. They are given up to licentiousness and independence for ten or twelve years they have been here. They are disobedient and seditious and require to be watched." In another paper it is stated of the d'Amours that "although they have vast grants in the finest parts of the country, they have hardly a place to lodge in. They carry on no tillage, keep no cattle, but live in trading with the Indians and debauch among them, making large profits thereby, but injuring the public good." A year later we find Villebon again writing to the minister in the same strain. "I have," says he, "no more reason to be satisfied with the Sieurs d'Amours than I previously had. The one that has come from France has not pleased me more than the other two. Their minds are wholly spoiled by long licentiousness, and the manners they have acquired among the Indians; and they must be watched closely, as I had the honor to state to you last year."

It would not be quite fair to judge of the character of the d'Amours brothers by these statements, although Governor Villebon doubtless made them in good faith. Acadia, at that time, was so full of jealousies and cabals that no man escaped censure, not even Villebon himself. The French government encouraged the forwarding of complaints to France, not only against private parties but against their own officials; and the French archives are full of letters written by all sorts and conditions of men against the governors, the judges, the priests and against each other. The d'Amours were engaged in trading with the Indians and this was enough to raise the ire of the governor, who deemed such conduct an infringement of the monopoly of the company which was supposed to control the trade of Acadia. But as this company did not provide a sufficient amount of goods and sold them at exorbitant

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prices, nearly every person in Acadia was engaged in trading, or at all events, every person was accused of it, even Villebon himself being charged with having secret transactions with the English in the sale of furs. Even the captains of the men-of-war which arrived from France every year with supplies for the fort were engaged in trade, for they brought out goods for the traders in Acadia who were ruining the company's business.

Fortunately we are not without the means of correcting Villebon's statement that the d'Amours brothers had hardly a place to lodge in, kept no cattle and carried on no tillage. In August 1689 a little English boy named John Gyles, then nine years old, was taken prisoner in an Indian raid against Pemaquid, in Maine, and carried to Acadia. He remained six years a captive among the Indians of the Upper St. John, but in 1695 was sold as a slave to Louis d'Amours de Chaufours, the oldest of the d'Amours brothers. Gyles lived with this man for more than three years, and served him so faithfully that, at the end of that time, he gave him his freedom and sent him back to his people in New England. So far from having hardly a place to lodge in, Louis d'Amours at that time had quite an extensive establishment. His residence was at Jemseg on the east side of the St. John river and he seems to have lived in much comfort. Gyles, who published a narrative of his captivity many years afterwards, says that he did a great trade with the Indians and kept a store of which the English captive had charge while he lived there. He also possessed cattle and raised crops, and Gyles mentions particularly one very fine field of wheat of which the birds had made great havoc. Louis d'Amours was married to Margaret Guion, a native of Quebec, and they had two children when Gyles lived with them. This lady treated the poor English captive

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with great kindness, and the narrative of Gyles, which has been widly circulated, has handed her name down to the present day as that of a good and true woman.

Mathieu d'Amours, Sieur de Freneuse, lived on the east side of the St. John river opposite the mouth of the Oromocto. Gyles stopped a night at his house in 1695, but he gives us no details as to how he lived. The fact that he had his residence in this fine farming country, rather than in a place more convenient for trading, would lead us to infer that he engaged largely in agriculture. His wife was Louise Guion, a sister of the wife of Louis d'Amours, and they had several children. Louise Guion, under the name of Madame Freneuse, occupies a large space in Acadian history, and for nearly ten years there was hardly a despatch or letter sent from Acadia to France which did not contain some reference to her. Unfortunately these references were not always complimentary, for Madame Freneuse was a sort of Acadian Cleopatra who came near undermining the foundations of the little colony. One commandant she ruined and the Port Royal colony was kept in a continual state of ferment over her, for she had partizans and defenders as well as unrelenting enemies,

Rene d'Amours, Sieur de Clignacourt, who had a large grant of territory on the Upper St. John, does not appear to have lived upon it, but probably resided with his brother Mathieu. Bernard, about the year 1701, married Jeanne le Borgne, a grand daughter of Charles de la Tour, the most striking figure in Acadian history. Rene appears to have been in France in 1696 or earlier; he was probably the youngest of the four brothers. Like his brother Louis he was engaged in trading with the Indians. John Gyles, in his narrative, informs us that when he was residing with the Indians at Medoctec—"when they would come in from hunting they

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would be drunk and fight for several days and nights together, until they had spent most of their skins in wine and brandy, which was brought to the village by a Frenchman called Monsieur Sigenioncour." The reader will easily recognize in this name that of Rene d'Amours, Sieur de Clignacourt. Perhaps we may discern in this statement, also, the principal reason for Villebon's dissatisfaction with the d'Amours brothers. A man who was engaged in selling the Indians wine and brandy, and keeping them drunk for days until he had obtained from them all the furs they had gathered in the winter's hunt, was not likely to be a favorite with the Acadian governor. Yet the time soon came when Villebon had good reason for looking on the d'Amours with some degree of favor for at a very critical period they rendered essential service to him and to the state.

In 1696 Villebon was established with a garrison of one hundred men at Fort Nashwaak, which was then the head quarters of Acadia. It had been chosen because it was near the principal Indian villages, and so far from the mouth of the St. John river that it could not be easily attacked by the English of Boston, with whom a constant state of war existed. The story of the combats which were carried on between 1690 and 1700 between Villebon and the English would make a paper of itself, and therefore I shall not touch upon it further than as it relates to the fortunes of our first settlers, the d'Amour's brothers. If settlement was tardy on the St. John River it was not without good cause, for the tiller of the soil above all things needs peace to enable him to prosper, and he is not likely to be content to live in a land where his fields are being constantly ravaged by an enemy, his buildings burnt and his cattle killed or driven away. Yet that was what he might expect if he lived on the banks of the St. John two hundred years ago.

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The English made several attacks on Acadia during the last decade of the seventeenth century, but the principal one was in 1696. An expedition was fitted out at Boston in the autumn of that year and placed under the command of Col. Benjamin Church who had been a commander in the Indian war of 1675, generally known as King Phillip's war. Church had about five hundred men with him and they were embarked in open sloops and boats. They ravaged the coast of Acadia from Passamaquoddy to the head of the Bay of Fundy, and were on their way back to Boston when they were met by a reinforcement of two hundred men in three vessels under Col. Hathorne, one of the Massachussetts Council. Hathorne, who now took the chief command, had orders to beseige and capture Fort Nashwaak, and the expedition returned to the St. John for that purpose, and ascended the river. Villebon was attacked in his fort on the 18th of October, but after cannonading it for two days the English retired. Villebon was ably assisted in the defence of his fort by two of the d'Amour's brothers, Mathieu and Rene, who arrived on the evening before the English appeared, with ten Frenchmen, their servants and retainers. Louis d'Amours was in France at this time and he had left his affairs in the care of his faithful English slave John Gyles, then a lad of sixteen. I doubt whether I can tell the story of what occurred to the family of Louis d'Amours during this English invasion better than in the words of Gyles himself, who in the narrative of his captivity * describes the affair thus:—

Some time after, Col. Hathorne attempted the taking of the French fort up this river. We heard of him some time before he came up, by the guard which Governor Villebon had stationed at the river's mouth. Monsieur, my master, had gone to France, and madam, his wife, advised with me. She desired me to nail a paper on the door of her house, which paper read as follows:

"I entreat the general of the English not to burn my house or barn, nor

* Nine Years a Captive, by James Hannay, St. John, 1875—(Reprint from Drake, with compiler's notes.)

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destroy my cattle. I don't suppose that such an army comes here to destroy a few inhabitants, but to take the fort above us. I have shown kindness to the English captives, as we were capacitated, and have bought two, of the Indians and sent them to Boston. We have one now with us, and he shall go also when a convenient opportunity presents, and he desires it."

When I had done this, madam said to me, " Little English," [which was the familiar name she used to call me by,] " we have shown you kindness, and now it lies in your power to serve or disserve us, as you know where our goods are hid in the woods, and that monsieur is not home. I could have sent you to the fort and put you under confinement, but my respect to you and your assurance of love to us have disposed me to confide in you, persuaded you will not hurt us or our affairs. And, now, if you will not run away to the English, who are coming up the river, but serve our interest, I will acquaint monsieur of it on his return from France, which will be very pleasing to him; and I now give my word, you shall have liberty to go to Boston on the first opportunity, if you desire, it or any other favor in my power shall not be denied you." I replied :

" Madame, it is contrary to the nature of the English to requite evil for good. I shall endeavor to serve you and your interest. I shall not run to the English, but if I am taken by them I shall willingly go with them, and yet endeavor not to disserve you either in your person or goods.'

The place where we lived was called Hagimsack, twenty-five leagues from the river's mouth, as I have before stated.

We now embarked and went in a large boat and canoe two or three miles up an eastern branch of the river that comes from a large pond, and on the following evening sent down four hands to make discovery. And while they were sitting in the house the English surrounded it and took one of the four. The other three made their escape in the dark and through the English soldiers, and coming to us, gave a surprising account of affairs. Upon this news madam said to me, "Little English, now you can go from us, but I hope you will remember your word." I said, "Madam be not concerned. I will not leave your in this strait." She said, "I know not what to do with my two poor little babies." I said, "Madam, the sooner we embark and go over the great pond the better." Accordingly we embarked and went over the pond. * The next day we spoke with Indians, who were in a canoe, and they gave us an account that Signecto town was taken and burnt. Soon after we heard the great guns at Gov. Villbbon's fort, which the English engaged several days. They killed one man, then drew off down the river; fearing to conitnue longer, for fear of being frozen in for the winter, which in truth they would have been.

Hearing no report of cannon for several days, I, with two others, went down to our house to make discovery. We found our young lad who was taken by the English when they went up the river. The general had shown himself so honorable, that on reading the note on our door, he ordered it not to be burnt, nor the barn. Our cattle and other things he preserved, except one or two and the poultry for their use. At their return they ordered the young lad to be put on shore. Finding things in this posture, we returned and gave madam an account of it.

Here we are brought face to face with the realities

*This " great pond " was Grand Lake.

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of war and the fears and miseries it brought to those who were its victims in ancient Acadia. It is pleasing to know that the fidelity of John Gyles to his mistress did not go unrewarded. When his master returned from France in the spring of 1697, he thanked Gyles for the care he had taken of his affairs, and said he would endeavor to fulfil the promise which his wife had made. Accordingly in the following year, after peace had been proclaimed, an English sloop from Boston came to the mouth of the St. John river and Louis d'Amours sent Gyles back in her to his people from whom he had been parted about nine years.

Mathieu d'Amours did not fare so well as his brother. As he had taken part in the defence of Fort Nashwaak, the English in coming down the river burnt his residence and barns at Freneuse and killed his cattle. The Sieur de Freneuse was left without a house and was wholly ruined, but this was not all the price he had to pay for his loyalty to his country and his king. The exposure to which he was subjected during the seige brought on an illness from which he died, leaving a widow and a large family of young children to struggle as best they might against the world's troubles and cares. Rene d'Amours, the other brother who had taken part in the defence of Fort Nashwaak, had also been ruined by the English invasion, for his goods, which were stored at Freneuse, were seized or destroyed. He afterwards joined the Indian war parties that were making raids on the English settlements of Maine. Thus the ruin wrought by war brings about reprisals and breeds more ruin and destruction of life and property.

In 1698, Governor Villebon removed his garrison from Fort Nashwaak to the old fort at the mouth of the river, on the Carleton side of the harbor, which had been originally built by Latour. Villebon died there

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in the summer of 1700 and his successor Brouillan, who arrived at St. John in the summer of the following year, resolved to abandon the fort there and remove the military establishment to Port Royal. This was immediately done, and as a consequence the settlers on the St. John were left without protection. As the war between France and England was renewed in the spring of 1702, these unfortunate people had no resource but to abandon their properties on the St. John and remove to Port Royal. By this time it appears that Margaret Guion, the wife of Louis d'Amours, was dead, for her sister, Madame Freneuse, had taken charge of her children and was providing for them. These children were indeed in a bad plight and were destined soon to be doubly orphaned. Their father was made prisoner by the English in 1703 and taken to Boston where he was confined in prison for more than two years. When he was liberated, under the terms of an exchange, and returned to Port Royal he was broken in health as in fortune and soon afterwards died. We learn this fact from an entry in the register of the parish of Port Royal recording the marriage of "Pierre de Morpain, commander of the Marquis de Beaupre, on 13th August, 1709, to Mdlle. Marie d'Amour de Chauffour, daughter of the late Louis d'Amour, ecuyer, and Sieur de Chauffour, and of the late dame Marguerite Guyon".

Madame Freneuse, who had not only her own large family to look after but also the children of her sister, appears to have removed to Port Royal about the time of the transfer of the garrison to that place. In 1701 she was a petitioner to the French government for a pension on the ground of the death of her husband and the losses he had suffered by the English invasion. Two of her sons were at that time cadet-soldiers of the companies in the Port Royal garrison, so Madame

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Freneuse must then have been nearly forty. Yet she had captivated the too susceptible heart of M. de Bonaventure, a brave naval officer, who was in command of the King's ships on the coast of Acadia. Nor does it appear that Governor Brouillan was insensible to her blandishments, for he shielded her in every possible way and defended her from her enemies. The French government encouraged what may be properly described as the "pimp" system, so that every person in Acadia was a spy on some one else. In November 1702 we find de Goutins, the commisary of Port Royal, in a letter to the French government, complaining of a scandal caused by Madame Freneuse and Bonaventure. This story was repeated by others and the priests of Port Royal brought the matter to the notice of the Bishop of Quebec who wrote to the French minister suggested that Madame Freneuse be sent to Canada. In the autumn of 1703 Madame Freneuse had a child, but the infant was spirited away and kept at the residence of an inhabitant who lived up the river of Port Royal. Brouillan, the governor, was, however, aware of the affair, and so was one of the priests for the child was baptized by the name of Antoine on the 7th Sept. 1703. Yet all through these proceedings Madame Freneuse, instead of manifesting an humble and contrite spirit, held her head high, and her partizans, who included the two most influential men in the colony, the Governor and Bonaventure, made it uncomfortable for any one who dared to look unkindly upon her. Among the letters in our archives is one from Pontif, Surgeon Major of Port Royal, to the Minister, complaining of the ill treatment which he had received from Bonaventure on account of Madame Freneuse. Even M. de LaTour, the seigneur of Port Royal, and the principal man in the colony, was made to realize the danger of offending a friend of Bonaventure, for in a letter to

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the Minister he protests against his interdiction and attributes it to the fact that neither he nor his wife had visited Madame Freneuse. In the autumn of 1704, Madame Freneuse was sent by Governor Brourillan to the River St. John, but she soon returned, alleging that she could not live there because the place was deserted. Brouillan had been ordered to send her to Quebec, but he excused himself on the ground that he had no opportunity of doing so. A journey from Port Royal to Quebec was a serious matter in those days. For nearly a year the cause of all this trouble lived up the river, at a distance from Port Royal, at the house of an inhabitant, but in the autumn of 1705 she went to France. She did not remain there very long, for she was again at Port Royal in the summer of 1706, and was the subject of much correspondence. Subercase, who had succeeded Brouillan as Governor, required her to live at a distance from Port Royal, but she seems to have returned to it occasionally. It was not until the summer of 1708 that the instructions of the French government with regard to this remarkable woman were carried out and she was sent to Quebec.

It might be supposed that this would be the last heard of Madame Freneuse in Acadia, for Quebec was a place which no person could leave without the consent of the Governor General. But this Acadian widow was quite irrepressible, and it would almost seem as if she had become as influential with the Quebec authorities as she was with the leading personages in Acadia. After the capture of Port Royal by the English in 1710 she turned up as an emissary of the French government, and the attempt which was made in the summer of 1711 by the French inhabitants and Indians to recapture that place was thought to be due to instructions she had brought from Canada. Major Paul Mascerene, an officer of the Annapolis garrison who afterwards

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became Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, in his narrative of the events of 1710 and 1711 at Annapolis, has the following reference to Madame Freneuse.

About this time they dispatcht almost unknown to us—the "*priest*" from Manis to Canada with an Acco't as may be supposed, of all this—and at the same time, a certain woman by name "Madam Freneuse,"—came from the other side of the Bay of Fundy in a Birch Canoo, with only an Indian and a young Lad, her son—in the Coldest part of Winter. This woman as there is a great deal of Reason to believe was Sent by Ordrs from Canada, brought by Mr. St. Castine—to keep the French in a Ferment and make them backward in supplying the Garrison with any necessary's and pry into and give an Accot of our Secrets, till occasion should offer of endeavouring to drive us out of the Country. In all this indeed She was but too lucky, tho she came with quite another story at first, she said that want of all manner of necessary's had put her to the Extremity of venturing all—for all to cross the Bay—at that unseasonable time of the year—that the Indians of penobscot—were entirely Starving, and that she was forc'd to come to try whether she could be admitted to live undr the new Govenmt she was upon this received Very Kindly by Sr. Chas. Hobby—and had the Liberty she desired granted to her.

Here we obtain our last glimpse of the first French settlers of the St. John River, for the documents in the archives of Acadia make no further mention of Madame Freneuse. That river had ceased to be a French possession and more than half a century was destined to pass away before the first English settler made his appearance on its banks. All the surviving members of the d'Amours family doubtless returned to Quebec, their original home; their graves are there; the fields they cleared were soon reclaimed by the wilderness. Yet, if in telling what is known of their story, I have awakened an interest in the mind of the reader in the men and manners of that bygone time, this paper will not have been written in vain. JAMES HANNAY.

The St. John fire department was disbanded on the the 30th of November, 1862, and the present paid force was organized. The volunteer department had been organized on August 7th, 1849. The first steam fire engine, Extinguisher No. 3, was procured in February, 1863.

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*THE ORIGIN OF THE MALISEETS.**

The tribe of Indians to which the name of Maliseet is at present restricted reside chiefly on the banks of the St. John River, in New Brunswick. At one time the local authorities supposed that these people were of Huron-Iroquois stock, but later investigation has shown that they are of the Algonquian family, as are all the tribes who are their immediate neighbors. We now know also that these St. John Indians were members of that nation or group of cognate tribes to whom the name Wapanaki † was applied—tribes that at the time they were discovered by the Europeans were in possession of the country between the St. John and the Connecticut—through Maine, New Hampshire and western Massachsetts, and whose warriors for more than a century kept the border settlements in constant terror.

The Wapanaki nation was originally composed of seven tribes, viz: Nipmuks, Sokokis, Assagunticooks, Wawanocks, Kenebeks, Penobscots, and Maliseets.

That the Micinacs were not Wapanakis has been clearly established by comparison of the languages and the traditions, though the tribes lived on intimate friendly terms and Micmac braves were sometimes found among Wapanaki war parties. Dr. Williamson, in his History of Maine, quotes a Penobscot Indian's statement that "all the Indians between the St. John and the Saco Rivers are brothers; the eldest lives on the Saco, and each tribe is younger as we pass eastward. Always I could understand these brothers very well when they speak, but when the Micmacs talk, I can't tell what they say."

*Spelled also Melicite and Amelicite.
†Spelled also Wabananchi, Abnaki and Abenaqui.

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It is probable that the Wapanaki nation was founded by a band of Ojibwas who separated from the main tribe, travelled eastward and settled on the western slopes of the Adirondacks, from which they were driven by the Iroquois when those fierce and valorous warriors immigrated thither from the southwest. The Ojibwas retired eastward and the Connecticut river was fixed as the western limit of their territory.

This band of Ojibwas were the progenitors of the large and powerful tribe which the Europeans found in control of the country between the Connecticut and the Piscataquis, including both banks of both rivers. This tribe was known to the early writers as the Nipmuks, though they are sometimes called Pannacooks, from the name of their principal encampment, Pennacook, which was situated where Manchester, N. H., now stands and where resided their head chief Passaconnoway. The Mohegans or Mohicans were of the Wapanaki race, but whether they were recognized as a separate tribe or were under Nipmuk government is not definitely known, though the weight of evidence favor the latter conclusion.

The other tribes originated thus. First a band wandered off from the Nipmuk country and settled on the Saco, where they eventually organized an independent tribe—the Sakoki. Later a detachment from the Saco established a separate tribe on the banks of the Androscoggin, and from them sprang directly both the Wawenocks and the Kenebeks. The latter in turn provided the nucleus for the Penobscot tribe, and from the Penobscot camp went the braves who set up their wigwams on the banks of the St. John and became the founders of the people whom we now know as the Maliseets.

Just when this separation took place is not known, but it must have been some time before they were

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discovered by the Europeans, for Champlain, Lescarbot, Captain John Smith and Cadillac, who visited the river during the first decade of the seventeeth century, found large encampments at Meductik and Hekpahak, (Spring Hill) and the early writers mention that the Maliseets took a leading part in the affairs of the nation.

At whatever time the Maliseets entered New Brunswick, they were confronted on their entrance by the Micmacs. The tribe had come from the southwest —so their tradition states—and finding the Atlantic Shore, which they coveted, in possession of the Iroquois—called Kwedecks in some of the Micmac legends—drove these toward the St. Lawrence, and established the Restigouche as the northern boundary of the Micmac territory.

The Micmacs seem to have permitted the Maliseets to secure the St. John without opposition, reserving one village site at the mouth of the river. According to the traditions of both tribes, their people have maintained friendly relations ever since, though the Micmacs were inclined to be aggressively combative and had several misunderstandings with the more western of the Wapanaki tribes which, according to the custom of their times, was referred to the arbitrament of the tomahawk.

In some of the earlier histories there are slight and indefinite references to battles during the period between 1605 and 1615, in which Micmacs and Penobscots seem to have been at war with the Maliseets, but these rumors lack confirmation, and it is more than probable that some other tribes were engaged in these conflicts.

The Passamaquoddy Indians were not organized as an independent tribe at the time of the European occupation, and that is the reason why we do not find any reference to them, as a tribe, in the pages of early

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history. The tribe is a mixture of Maliseet and Penobscot, and originated thus: A Maliseet man, so the tradition runs, married a woman of the Penobscots and built a wigwam at the mouth of the St. Croix. The pair were joined by other Maliseets and by parties of Penobscots from Machias, Mattawamkeag and the Penobscot river. The band thus formed continued to hold allegiance to the Maliseet tribe until sometime after the advent of the whites. It was not until the Penobscots finally deserted Machias and most of the families moved to St. Croix that the band, thus augmented, elected a chief of its own and set up a tribal establishment. The inaugural of this chief was conducted by leading men of the Maliseet, Penobscot and St. Francis tribes.

Of these tribes, numbering according to the estimate made by Williamson and others, at some 36,000 at the time of the European invasion, there are at the present time but small bands, numbering in all something less than 2,000 people. They are scattered thus: The Passamaquoddies still occupy Sipayik or Pleasant Point, as it is better known, but the tribe has been separated; for a few years ago, the band living at Lewy's Island, on the upper waters of the St. Croix, quarreled with the Sipayiks over the election of a chief, and now there are two divisions on the St. Croix. The Penobscot chief still holds his council at Old Town, and the Maliseet villages are scattered along the St. John. A branch of the Maliseet is settled at Cacouna on the south side of the St. Lawrence, near Riviere du Loup. This tribe was founded in 1828 by some thirty families who moved from the upper St. John. They are written down Amalecites in the Report of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs.

Other branches of the Wapanaki are settled at St. Francis and Becancour, near Quebec. These are the

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remnants of the large tribes whom the first settlers found in possession of the New England frontier, and who were driven from their homes through the ill treatment of the British Colonists.

While for convenience sake the term Nation has been used when referring to the Wapanaki tribes collectively, that term should be understood as applicable only in its widest sense. These people were related through descent from a common ancestry, but the tribes were not confederated. They were avowed friends, and this term means vastly more when applied to these sons of the forest than to any other race, but they were not held together by any such compact as that, for example, which bound the Iroquois League. The Wapanaki tribes had no legislative union, nor permanent general council, nor head chief. When a convention or council was to be held, the delegates from each tribe were chosen for the occasion, and when assembled they elected their own president.

In the treaty that was signed at Portsmouth in 1713, the Indians participating are described as those living on the "Plantations lying between the rivers St. John and Merrimak." Attached to this treaty are the signatures of the several delegates—two or more from each tribe.

The last time at which representatives of the Wapanaki nation met the white man in convention was in 1775, when General Washington invited the tribes to send delegates to Watertown to discuss with the Massachusetts council the relations of the Indians to the contending parties in the war of the revolution. At that convention the spokesman for the Indians was Ambrose Var, the Maliseet Sakum.

MONTAGUE CHAMBERLAIN.

The ter-centenary of St. John will be in 1904.

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AMERICAN COLONIAL TRACTS. *

The first volume of this unique publication has been completed, and twelve rare and important tracts, writen by the founders of the English colonies in America, have been reprinted from original copies, in monthly parts, and placed in the hands of the reading public. The publication, though modest in conception and detail, is a most important historical contribution, and will be valued for the vast store of English colonial history it will contain. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a large number of tracts relating to America were printed in England, but only a few copies of any of these have escaped the vicissitudes of time, and those few were almost inaccessable to the large number of readers interested in historical and social studies.

The twelve tracts comprising the volume represent the golden and romantic age of English colonial adventure—a period so fraught with momentous consequences to the English race. The earliest of these tracts were printed in 1609 and the latest in 1742, and while representing a diversity of opinion among the writers, yet all make the advancement and glory of England the predominant motive that influenced the writers, and guided the enterprises which they advocated with unbounded faith and enthusiastic zeal.

Five of the tracts relate to the history and colonization of Georgia and Carolina, five to Virginia, one to New England, and one to the Propagation of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, all dealing with the difficult phases of colonization present in those early days. Grandly, and even quaintly, as many of these

*Colonial Tracts, issued monthly. George P. Humphrey, Publisher, Rochester, New York.

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old tracts are written, they nevertheless reveal the high motives that influenced the writers, and the broad and humane benefits they hoped would accrue to England from their efforts in planting colonies in the new world.

The first tract in the series (printed in 1717) "A Discourse Concerning the Designed Establishment of a Colony to the South of Carolina," has for us a certain provincial interest, as the author, Sir Robert Montgomery, gives this account of his ancestry and the motives that influenced him to embark in a colonization scheme :—

> It will perhaps afford some satisfaction to know that my design arises not from any sudden motive, but a strong bent of genius I inherit from my ancestors, one of whom was among those Knights of Nova Scotia purposely created near a hundred years ago for settling a Scots' colony in America ; but the conquest of that country by the French prevented his design, and so it lies on his posterity to make good his intentions for the service of his country.

Notwithstanding Sir Robert's eloquent appeal for his colony, which he named the "Margravate of Azilia," and his bold assertion, "that it lies in the same latitude with Palestine herself, that promised Canaan which was pointed out by God's own choice to bless the labors of a favorite people," his scheme perished, and not until 1732 was a permanent English settlement established south of Carolina, when James Oglethorpe that year arrived at the mouth of the Savannah river with a band of Englishmen and founded the colony of Georgia.

The high hopes and lofty aspirations of those brave adventurers are recorded in the pages of their tracts. Although disappointment, failure, and in many cases ruin came to some of them in their lifetime, by their efforts, and by the genius which guided them, the world has been made wealthier and wiser; the freedom and the peaceful security of mankind have been made permanent through their sacrifices, and the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race has been assured.

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Living as we do under the folds of the Union Jack, and keeping our allegiance unsullied to old England, these tracts have for us a far greater historic value than for those who now possess the land those noble pioneers of English civilization reclaimed with their labor and defended with their swords, as they throw a flood of light on the difficult paths the pioneers of English greatness had to tread, and the sacrifices they so freely made for their race.

In a literary sense the tracts are exceedingly instructive, showing the transformation that has taken place in English composition during the centuries, and, combining the beauties of expression with simplicity of language, make the reading of them a pleasure. But as a record of the greatness of English colonization effort these tracts should be valued by every Canadian and every lover of our empire.

The publication has been begun at a most singularly opportune time in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race; and may not these silent "Discourses" of the past stir men's thoughts to that brilliant past, before schism divided the race, and do their part in bringing together, in a united whole, the race so long divided?

J. Howe.

The Germain street Methodist church, which stood at the corner of Germain and Horsefield streets, was the first place of worship in St. John to be lighted with gas. The date was Jan. 3, 1847.

The keel of a steam ferry boat to ply on the harbor of St. John was laid in Carleton, Dec. 8, 1838. The first master of this ferry was Nehemiah Vail, who died Feb. 12, 1842, aged 43 years.

The corner stone of St. Ann's Chapel, Fredericton, was laid May 30, 1846.

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A STORY OF TWO SOLDIERS. *

On the Marsh road, to the eastward of St. John and just beyond the Rural Cemetery, (Fernhill) is what a reflective stranger would take to be "a house with a story." It stands on the slope of the hill which rises gently from the dead level of the marsh through which run the railway and the highway, and there is a distinctive old-time look about the building and its surroundings. It is a wooden mansion dating back to the first half of the century, and it is approached by a semi-circular avenue lined with trees. In its early days it was considered to be out in the country, and at different periods in its history it was the property of well known old-time residents of St. John, who used it as a place of recreation and summer holiday resort. Among its owners were such men as the Hon. Hugh Johnston, Barton Powlett Wallop and others whose names are familiar to students of the city's history. It is likely the house of itself has much to interest the people of today, could its walls be made to speak, but the strangest story about the place belongs to a large spruce tree which used to stand in a forest growth further back on the hill, but only a few hundred feet from the highway.

Everybody with observant eye who has travelled much in the woods with some better motive than to seek out and slaughter harmless creatures, has noticed the strange resemblances to human forms and faces found in woody growth. Very often, too, the spreading base of some very old tree is fantastic enough to

*This sketch appeared in one of the St. John papers, a few years ago, and and is now reproduced by the writer for the convenience of some readers who desire to preserve it in a better form.

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suggest many odd fancies, and once upon a time there was something of the kind at the place which I have mentioned.

There was at the foot of this particular tree, on the side next to the road, what appeared to be a portion of the root from which the soil had in part fallen away, yet which was not exposed because of a thick covering of luxuriant green moss. In the ridges and hollows thus formed, it required no effort to trace the likeness of two semi-recumbent human forms, not perfectly outlined, indeed, but so distinct in parts as to convey but the one idea. It may be that, in the good old days of fifty, sixty and seventy years ago, pleasure parties sought the grateful shade of the forest in the hot summer months and talked about this curious freak of nature. Children, too, may have romped and shouted there, and plucked the bright red pigeon berries, which seemed to be larger and richer there than at any other place. The years went by; one after another of those who sought their pleasure there passed away. Again and again the property changed hands and the old walls of the mansion no longer gave echo to the gay revelry of former days. The tree with the curious figures at its base became forgotten.

In the autumn of 1853, a party of surveyors, running lines in this part of the county, stopped one day in the woods by this tree to rest themselves. Sitting there, smoking and chatting, the attention of one of them was drawn to the singular shape of the ground, and to the peculiar mossy growth. The vivid green, in contrast with the sombre brown in other places, excited his curiosity, and suggested the occurrence of some peculiar mineral deposit. With the small axe he carried, he began tearing away some of the moss, when he was surprised to find a bone which beyond doubt was that of a human thigh. Speedily, but with great

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care, the party removed all the moss around the green ridges, and when they had done so there remained the bones of two skeletons, with the substance of much of the bony structure nearly wholly absorbed by the growth it had so greatly enriched.

A few other articles were found. There were a small bottle or flask, the remains of leather boots, and some metal buttons, so corroded that little remained of them. On one of the buttons, however, which by some chance in its surroundings was better preserved than the others, what appeared to be figures were seen. A careful examination subsequently disclosed the number "101".

This meant that the skeletons were those of soldiers of the 101st regiment. How long had it been since that body of troops was stationed in St. John? None of the party could remember it. Some old people to whom the surveyors afterwards went for information declared that the 101st had not been at this garrison since the early part of the century.

Several gentlemen, among them the Messrs. Drury and Gilbert, took a deep interest in the discovery, and one of them wrote a letter of inquiry to the War Office in England. The reply received was that the 101st regiment had left St, John in the year 1809; that previous to its departure two men had deserted in the winter; that no trace of them was afterwards found; and that an entry to that effect had been made on the roll and returned to the office in due course.

The story was a plain one. The fugitives had sought the shelter of the woods in the bitter cold of winter, had sat down with their backs against the tree and refreshed themselves with the spirits in the flask. Waiting for a favorable chance to pursue their journey, they had become drowsy, dropped asleep and never awakened. The wood was little frequented in those

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times. Years went by before a human being passed that way, and then there was only to be seen the singular contour of the ground and the vivid green of the moss.

For nearly half a century the grim sentinels kept their silent vigil, overlooking the thousands who passed and repassed on one of the great highways of the province. Two soldiers had been marked off from a muster roll; two men had dropped out of existence. On the hill beside them was marked out a city of the dead, that those who passed away might be recorded and remembered. Beyond its pale lay two who were forgotten. Grim guardians were they of the valley traversed by the multitude in quest of pleasure; so near is death to life, though life seems all in all to us, and death, unseen, is heeded not. W. K. REYNOLDS.

The road from Maguadavic to Lepreau, a part of the main highway and mail route between St. John and the United States, was completed through the wilderness and made passable for teams in October, 1827. Col. Wyer was the supervisor, and Rankin & Hinston were the contractors.

Workmen began digging for the foundation of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, St. John, in September, 1846, at which date there were more than 90 patients in the old asylum in Leinster street.

The St. John Mechanics' Institute was established Dec. 10, 1838, and had a half-century of existence. Its early meetings were held at the St. John hotel.

Dr. Collins, the hero of the ship fever epidemic, died on Partridge Island July 2, 1847. He was in the 24th year of his age.

The St. John fish market was opened in 1838.

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IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

WITH THE CONTRIBUTORS.

The first of a series of papers on the early settlement of St. John appears in this number, and will be found to be a most valuable contribution to the history of that part of New Brunswick. The writer is Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A., rector of St. Mary's church, St. John, who is well known as one of the most thorough and painstaking students of provincial history. Mr. Raymond gathers his information from first sources and and has a quick eye in recognizing the bearing of stray facts upon any subject in which he is interested. It is not to be doubted that he finds not only "sermons in stones", but that he can make even an old account book the foundation of a most interesting historical sketch. In this way he is continually bringing to light much of which little has been known, and students will find many facts that are new to them in the present sketch. Among the published contributions of Mr. Raymond to local history are "Kingston and the Loyalists," "Early Days of Woodstock," "The United Empire Loyalists," "The London Lawyer," (Elias Hardy) and "Old Meductic." Mr. Raymond is among those to whom the editor of the recent Cleveland edition (60 volumes) of the "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents" acknowledges his obligations for information supplied. Mr. Raymond is a prominent member of the N. B. Historical Society. Readers of THE MAGAZINE will be glad to know that he will be a frequent contributor.

Prof. William F. Ganong, of Smith College,

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Northampton, Mass., has been and is doing much in the interests of New Brunswick history. Prof. Ganong is of Loyalist stock. He is a native of St. John and one of number of the graduates of the University of New Brunswick who have achieved distinction. He is an A. M. and Ph. D., of his alma mater, an A. B. of Harvard and Ph.D. of Munich. He has been instructor in botany at Harvard and is now Professor of Botany at Smith College. His contributions to various learned societies on topics of history and natural history have been numerous and of great value. He has for some years been collecting material for a history of New Brunswick on a magnificent scale and has gathered a large amount of matter in this line. His "Plan for a General History" appears in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1895, and since then he has contributed two important monographs to the same body. One of these, the "Place-Nomenclature of New Brunswick," is a marvel of industry and research. His latest paper is on the Cartography of the province, to which reference is made elsewhere. In the current number of THE MAGAZINE Dr. Ganong deals with the much vexed question of the site of Fort LaTour, reiterating his opinion that it was on the eastern side of St. John harbor.

Mr. James Hannay stands to the front as the historian of Acadia, and is widely known as one of the most ready and pleasing writers in Canada. Whatever may be the individual views of his treatment of the question of the expatriation of the French, his "History of Acadia" must be recognized as a book of absorbing interest, written in an exceedingly graceful style. At the time it was written there were not the facilities which exist at the present day for obtaining information on the Acadian question, and the work of Mr. Hannay was done amid difficulties which were

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overcome only by extraordinary effort and perseverance. Despite of the demands of a most exacting profession upon his time and attention, Mr. Hannay has published much else that is of permanent historic value, including "The Township of Maugerville" and the "Life and Times of Sir Leonard Tilley." The latter derives its interest very largely from the picture the author draws of the early times in which the subject of the sketch lived, and is considered so valuable on that account that the provincial government has caused it to be placed in the school libraries. Among the newspaper contributions of Mr. Hannay which are to appear later in book form are a "History of the Loyalists" and "The War of 1812." Mr. Hannay has been president of the N. B. Historical Society, is historican of the Loyalist Society, a corresponding member of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society and of the N. S. Historical Society. He is recognized as one of the leading journalists of Canada and has for some years been editor of the St. John Telegraph.

Mr. Montague Chamberlain is another New Brunswicker who has done much to make his native province known to the literary and scientific world, though his vocation causes him to be a resident of the United States. Mr. Chamberlain is a native of St. John, where he was educated and began life for himself in a mercantile establishment. At a later period he was connected with William Elder's Morning Journal, one of the leading newspapers of the period, which was finally merged into the Daily Telegraph. Leaving New Brunswick in 1888, he became assistant secretary of Harvard University in the following year and recorder of Harvard College in 1890. Two years later he was appointed secretary of the Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard University, which position he holds at the present time. Mr. Chamberlain early showed a taste

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for the study of ornithology and ethnology, and is an authority on both subjects. He was one of the founders of the American Ornithological Union and associate editor of its organ, "The Auk." He has been a vice-president of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, and in his connection with the Nuttall Ornithologicsl Club, of Cambridge, Mass., he has edited Nuttall's "Hand-book of the Birds of Eastern North America." Among his published productions are "A Catalogue of the Birds of New Brunswick," "A Catalogue of the Mammals of N. B.," "A Catalogue of the Birds of Canada," "Systematic Table of the Birds of Canada," "Birds of Field and Grove," an annotated edition of Hagerup's "Birds of Greenland," with numerous lectures on kindred topics and on the language and characteristics of the Indians. His paper on "The Origin of the Maliseet Indians," in this number of THE MAGAZINE will be found both interesting and valuable.

Mr. Jonas Howe, of St. John, is locally known as an earnest student ot provincial history, but one who rather avoids publicity in his labors. Mr. Howe has for a number of years been engaged in an extensive manufacturing business in St. John, but has found time to devote a great deal of attention to local history. He was one of the contributors to Stewart's Quarterly and has written for the press on various topics. He was identified with the N. B. Historical Society in its early history and is now its corresponding secretary. Among the works by which he is known are "Early Attemps to Introduce the Cultivation of Hemp in Eastern British America," and the "King's New Brunswick Regiment." His paper in this number of THE MAGAZINE is on American Colonial Tracts, and while not purely local in its character will interest all students of colonial history.

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Mr. Samuel W. Kain has kindly assisted in making the first number more complete by contributing many of the notes included under the title of "Writers and Workers."

Dr. George Stewart, of Quebec, was to have had a paper in this number, but owing to special demands upon his time of late he has been obliged to defer it until the August number.

In addition to the names of contributors announced in the prospectus issued some weeks ago, THE MAGAZINE has pleasure in stating that contributions may be looked for in future numbers from Mr. George Johnson, Dominion Statistician, Ottawa, Mr. John T. Bulmer, bibliophile and historical writer, Halifax, Mr. S. D. Scott, M. A., journalist and president of the N. B. Historical Society, Mr. W. P. Dole, M. A., and Mr. W. G. MacFarlane, M. A., journalist and bibliographer, St. John.

WRITERS AND WORKERS.

The Maritime Provinces occupy no mean place in the fields of science and literature, as will be seen by the following incomplete notes of what has been done of late either by those who are claimed as sons of this part of Canada or by others who are interested in our history and resources. Further reference will be made later to some of the work of which there can now be only a brief mention.

Prof. Loring W. Bailey was engaged by the Dominion Geological Survey, last year, to make an examination of the mineral resources of New Brunswick. His report is now in press and will soon be published. The recently issued transactions of the Royal Society of Canada contain a paper by him on the Bay of Fundy Trough in American Geological History. Prof. Bailey

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will spend his summer vacation in examining some of the deposits of coal in the central part of the province.

Bliss Carman, one of the New Brunswick poets, is living in New York. A few months ago he published a volume of poems—"Ballads of Lost Haven." He has another volume in preparation, which will appear soon.

Robert Chalmers has been for a number of years on the staff of the Geological Survey. He resides at Ottawa. A recent number of the American Journal of Science contains an article by him on the Pre-glacial Decay of Rocks in Eastern Canada. Mr. Chalmers has made an excellent record in his profession, and his studies in glacial geology are among the most important made in this country.

Prof. A. Wilmer Duff, while in New Brunswick last summer, made a number of experiments on sound. The results were recently published in the Physical Review. He also made some tidal observations, which will be published in the forthcoming Bulletin of the Natural History Society. Prof. Duff and family will spend the summer in New Brunswick.

Prof. William F. Ganong is one of our most industrious workers. Early in the year a sketch of the Smith College Botanic Gardens, written by him, appeared in Garden and Forest. In the Botanical Gazette for April he has a learned article on Polyembryony in *Opuntia Vulgaris* (one of the cactus family.) Prof. Ganong is recognized as an authority on this group of plants. Of more interest to Maritime Province readers, however, are two articles from his pen which appear in the last volume of the Royal Society. In his study of the Raised Peat Bogs he describes his investigations of the bogs of Charlotte and St. John counties. The subject matter is well illustrated by maps and drawings. His monograph of the Cartography of New Brunswick

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is a splendid piece of work, which must have cost him much time and labor. It has so many important points that it is a necessity for all students of provincial history, and it is a model of how such studies should be made. At the May meeting of the Royal Society he submitted a paper on the historical geography of New Brunswick. In the U. S. Weather Review for April, Prof. Abbe quotes Prof. Ganong's article on Remarkable Sounds in the Bay of Fundy, and adds some comments. Prof. Ganong is now in New Brunswick. He will spend July investigating the structure and growth of the bogs in Westmorland county, and in August will do some further field work in the northern part of the province.

D. Leavitt Hutchinson, Director of the Observatory, St. John, is making cloud studies. He has taken a very good series of cloud pictures, and his photo of the fine display of cirrus clouds on June 5 is worthy of special mention.

Samuel W. Kain, one of the most industrious workers of the N. B. Natural History Society, has an article in the March Weather Review, on some meterological phenomena.

The recently issued Transactions of the Royal Society contain a paper by Dr. George F. Matthew on the Cambrian Fauna, which he has made his special study. Dr. Matthew will spend his summer vacation in field work.

Some months ago, Dr. W. D. Matthew published a paper on the Puerco Fauna, a group of primitive mammals. He is now on a exploratory trip among the northern counties of Kansas, where he is collecting fossil saurians for the American Museum of Natural History.

Charles F. B. Rowe has been actively engaged in field work this season, so far as his time has permitted.

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He is studying batrachians and reptiles, and has had good results.

The last volume of the Royal Society contains a sketch of Goldie, the botanist, by George U. Hay. Mr. Hay has issued his second number of Leaflets of Canadian History, and finds that his good work in this line is meeting with appreciation. He will spend August in botanical work in the northern part of New Brunswick.

Hon. Pascal Porier's book, "Le Pere Febvre et L'Acadie," has reached a third edition. It is a valuable addition to the Acadian literature of these provinces, as well as an important contribution to ecclesiastical history.

Rev. W. C. Gaynor is preparing a sketch of the life and work of Very Rev. Thomas Connolly, V. G., in connection with the celebration of Mgr. Connolly's golden jubilee at St. John on July 10.

An interesting paper by Dr. I. Allen Jack was submitted at the May meeting of the Royal Society. It dealt with early slavery in New Brunswick and the case of the black woman brought before the judges, with Ward Chipman as her counsel.

Sir John Bourinot is the first native of the Maritime Provihces who has been knighted on account of his literary attainments.

Victor H. Palstits, of the Lenox Library, New York, has been engaged in preparing a new and complete edition of the story of the Captivity of John Gyles, working from original sources and comparing with the version in Drake. The story of Gyles, as given by Drake, was published by James Hannay, in 1875, with important annotations. Mr. Palstits' work will be of great interest and value. It is possible he may visit Maine and New Brunswick this year, in connection with his labors.

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Dr. T. J. W. Burgess, of Montreal, read a paper at the last meeting of the Royal Society, on the history of lunatic asylums in Canada. The old asylum in Leinster street, St. John, was the first institution of the kind in what is now the Dominion. Dr. Burgess refers to this, and also deals with the history of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum.

PROVINCIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

MacFarlane's Bibliography of New Brunswick, published in 1895, shows a great deal of faithful work and is very accurate. It would be unreasonable to expect that the first edition of such a work would be complete, however, and the Addenda and Supplement show that the author continued to make discoveries up to the last moment. As it is improbable that a second edition of the book will be issued for some years, and in view of the opportunity for a Bibliography of all the Maritime Provinces, it is suggested that THE MAGAZINE have a department devoted to the subject, to which readers can contribute such information as they may possess. In this way those who have MacFarlane's Bibliography may make their copies more complete from time to time, while it is hoped that bibliophiles in the sister provinces may be induced to furnish notes which may lead some one to undertake a Bibliography which will include Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. In the case of New Brunswick, these notes would take the form of additions to what has already been published. In respect to the other provinces the better idea, perhaps, would be to deal more particularly with rare and notable books, rather than to attempt anything in the nature of a classified list. Each note will be of more interest if signed with the name or initials of the contributor. This should be a very valuable department of THE

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MAGAZINE, and it is hoped that readers everywhere will aid in sustaining it by their contributions. This will also be found a good medium for inquiries in regard to books not commonly known. The editor submits a few samples of the method in which the subjects may be treated.

Additions to N. B. Bibliography.

CONNOLLY, Right Rev. Thos., D. D., Bishop of St. John.

Pastoral Address to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese for the Lent of MDCCCLIV. St. John, published by T. W. Anglin, Freeman Printing Office, 1854. 8°, pp 24.

Replies to Two Speeches of Hon. L. A. Wilmot. (See Wilmot, L. A.)

WIGGINS, Rev. R. B., A. M.

A Review of the Rev. Dr. Gray's "Reply" to the "Statement of Some of the Causes which have led to the late Dissention in the Episcopal Church in this City." St. John, Chubb & Co., 1851.

OWEN, Admiral W. F., of Campobello.

The Quoddy Hermit, or Conversations at Fairfield on Religion and Superstition, by William Fitzwilliam of Fairfield. Boston, printed by S. N. Dickenson, 1841. Small 8°, pp. 194 and 3 of errata. The latter pages are composed of 2 which note 66 errors and an inset with 22 more.

(This book is credited to William Fitzwilliam in MacFarlane. There is another book by Owen, professing to be an autobiography. Who can give any information about it?

SHIVES, Robert.

Publisher of "The Amaranth," etc. Omitted by MacFarlane. Can some reader give further particulars about him?

Anonymous.

A Report of the Committee appointed by the

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Inhabitants of Carleton to Vindicate their Rights secured to them by the City Charter. St. John, Chubb & Co., 1852.

Corrigenda.

BATES, Walter. MacFarlane states that the author's second edition of Henry More Smith was "published by Wm. L. Avery, St. John, about 1837." An edition of this book was advertised as in press by John McMillan in May, 1836.

GRAY, Rev. J. W. D.

Add to the note of A Sermon preached at Trinity Church, 24th Nov., 1839, the pagination, "pp. 13."

All matter appearing in this publication is specially written for it, unless expressly stated to be otherwise. The contents, it will be noticed, are protected by copyright, but it is permissable for newspapers to copy paragraphs, or to give extracts from the signed articles, when such extracts do not exceed one-third of the length of each article, and when credit is given to THE MAGAZINE in each instance.

The initial number of THE MAGAZINE is considerably larger than was promised, in respect to the number of pages. The regular size, as announced, is 48 pages of reading matter, and it will be understood that while there will never be less than that number there is no promise that there will be any more.

Publishers who mention THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE will oblige by sending marked copies of the issues containing notices. THE MAGAZINE does not exchange with newspapers, unless special arrangements are made to that effect.

THE MAGAZINE is printed from new type, ordered expressly for this purpose, and the printing has been done at the Gazette job office.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

QUESTIONS.

1. What is the date of the oldest tombstone in the Old Burial Ground? B.

2. When were the "Three Lamps" erected at Reed's Point?

3. From what circumstance does Souris, P. E. I., derive its name? W. D.

4. When did percussion caps take the place of flints for the muskets of the British Army? J. M. B.

5 What is the true source of the Restigouche river?

6. Was St. John or Halifax the first of the Maritime Province cities to use gas? J. W.

ANSWERS.

1. According to the Loyalist Memorial book, the oldest stone in the Old Burial Ground, St. John, is that of Conradt Hendricks, who died July 13, 1784. ED.

4. I have a memo. that in July, 1846, the soldiers of the 14th Regiment, then at Quebec, exchanged flints for percussion muskets. Some military reader may be able to furnish further information on the subject. ED.

6. Halifax appears to have been in advance of St. John in the use of gas for illumination. The former city was lighted by this method late in 1841 or early in 1842, while in St. John the gas was turned on for the first time in September, 1845. ED.

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AUGUST, 1898.

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The New Brunswick Magazine

VOL. I. NO. 2.

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The New Brunswick Magazine.

VOL. I. AUGUST, 1898. NO. 2

AT PORTLAND POINT.

Second Paper.

It will be interesting to state briefly the circumstances under which James Simonds and his partners became possessed of an estate at St. John which laid the foundation of the fortunes of their respective families in later times.

A great impetus was given to the settlement of the wilderness parts of Nova Scotia by the royal proclamation issued at the Court of St. James on the 7th October, 1763, offering free grants of land to the disbanded officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who had served in North America in the late French war, as a token of his majesty's approval of their conduct and bravery. The lands were to be subject at the expiration of ten years to the usual quit rents and to the usual conditions of cultivation and improvement, and were to be allotted in the following proportions:—To every field officer 5,000 acres; to every captain 3,000 acres; to every subaltern or staff officer 2,000 acres; to every non-commissioned officer 200 acres; to every private 50 acres.

One of the immediate consequences of the king's proclamation was a general scramble for unappropriated

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lands, in which government officials vied with retired army officers in securing the most desirable locations. In some instances the lands were already occupied and grants promised to those in possession; in other instances they had been reserved for certain applicants till the king's pleasure should be known. Now, however, all who were interested began to be anxious to secure their grants in due form. James Simonds, therefore, memorialized the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia for a grant of 3,000 acres for himself and associates. The memorial was duly considered and on the 24th December, 1764, it was agreed that Mr. Simonds should for the present have license to occupy the said land.

The year that followed is remarkable in the history of Nova Scotia for the reckless and prodigal fashion in which grants were issued.* A species of land hunger seems to have pervaded all classes of society, more particularly the government officials and army officers. The importunity with which many applicants pressed for a formal grant of the lands promised or reserved for them is probably accounted for by the following remark in one of Hon. Charles Morris' letters, in which he characterizes the year 1765 as "A time when there was a great crowd of business in the publick offices on account of the STAMP ACTS' taking place and the people pressing hard for their grants in order to save the stamp duties."

Mr. Simonds was obliged to make at least two visits to Halifax to interview the government in the interests of himself and his partners. As a result, on the 2nd October, 1765, a grant was made to him, in conjunction with his brother Richard, and James White, described as follows:

Beginning at a point of upland opposite to the house of James Simonds at Portland Point, and running east till it meets with a little cove or river [the

*See Murdoch's Hist. of N. S. Vol. II. p. 455.

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Marsh Creek], thence bounded by said cove till it comes to Red Head on the east side of the cove, thence running north eleven degrees and fifteen minutes west till it meets the Canebekessis river, thence bounded by said river, the River St. John's and harbor, till it comes to the first mentioned boundary, with allowance for bad lands and containing on the whole by estimation 2,000 acres more or less.

When afterwards surveyed, this grant was found to contain 5,496 acres, so that the allowance for bad lands must be considered as tolerably liberal. The line running from Simonds' house eastward to Courtenay Bay is that now followed by Union street. It will be observed that the peninsula south of this street (laid out in 1783 as Parr-town) was not included in the grant. The principal object of the grantees was to secure "the marsh" and the limestone quarries, and they probably deemed the land south of Union street so rocky and forbidding as to be hardly worth the quit rents.

Red Head, mentioned as one of the bounds of the grant, was at that time a more prominent, but probably not a more *conspicuous* object than at present. The bluff extended further out into the bay and further up shore towards the mouth of Little River, and it was covered with shrubbery down to the water, with tall trees on the summit. A settler named Robert Cairns lived there in early times, and in his evidence in a certain lawsuit he states that in the spring of the year 1787 there was a tremendous land slide, or as he expresses it, "the bank broke off." He was absent in the city at the time and on his return, seeing what had happened, was much alarmed, thinking his family had been "buried in the ruins;" fortunately this turned out not to have been the case. The appearance of the soil freshly exposed caused Red Head, in spite of its diminished proportions, to be even more conspicuous than before.

It may be well, before we proceed to consider the progress of events at St. John, to mention some important changes that took place in the company first

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organized for business there. Richard Simonds died Jan. 20, 1765, and Robert Peaslie (who, so far as we can gather, never lived at St. John) retired at the expiration of the first year. Meanwhile, Leonard Jarvis had, in the autumn of 1764, been admitted to partnernership with Wm. Hazen at Newburyport, and became by common consent a sharer in the business at St. John. Samuel Blodget, the Boston partner, retired in May, 1766, and his share was taken by Hazen and Jarvis. The business was thenceforth conducted by Hazen and Jarvis at Newburyport, and by Simonds and White at St. John. In addition to their interest at St. John, the Newburyport partners carried on a considerable trade to the West Indies, in which they employed some half a dozen small vessels. The same vessels, with ten or twelve others, were also employed in the business at St. John and Passamaquoddy. The cargoes sent to the West Indies consisted chiefly of fish, hogshead staves, boards, shingles and other lumber obtained largely at St. John, but sometimes at Penobscot. In return the vessels brought cargoes of rum, sugar, molasses, etc.

The names of the sloops and schooners engaged in the St. John trade, and of the masters who sailed them, are worthy of a place in our commercial annals. In those days there were neither lights, beacons nor foghorns, and charts were imperfect, yet there were but few disasters. The qualities of pluck and skill were, however, indispensable in the hardy mariners who were the pioneers of the coasting trade of the Bay of Fundy and North Atlantic coast, and the names of Jonathan Leavitt and his contemporaries are worthy of all honor. The list following is properly as complete as at this distance of time it can be made.

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LIST OF VESSELS owned or chartered by Hazen, Simonds & White in their business at St. John, A. D., 1764-1774.

NAME OF VESSEL.	NAMES OF MASTERS.
Schooner Wilmot,	William Story.
Sloop Bachellor,	Ebenezer Eaton.
Schooner Polly.	Jas. Stickney, Jona'n. Leavitt, Hen. Brookings,
Sloop Peggy and Molly,	Henry Brookings.
Sloop St. Johns' Paquet,	Rich'd. Bartelott, Hen. Brookings, Jos. Jellings.
Sloop Merrimack,	Jona'n. Leavitt, Samuel Perkins, Daniel Leavitt.
Sloop Speedwell,	Nathaniel Newman.
Schooner Eunice,	James Stickney.
Sloop Dolphin.	Daniel Dow.
Schooner Betsey,	Jonathan Leavitt.
Sloop Woodbridge,	David Stickney.
Schooner Humbird,	Jonathan Leavitt.
Sloop Sally,	Nathaniel Newman.
Schooner Seaflower,	Benjamin Batchelder, Jonathan Leavitt.
Sloop Deborah,	Edward Atwood.
Sloop Kingfisher,	Jonathan Eaton.
Schooner Sunbury.	Jonathan Leavitt, Daniel Leavitt.

Of the vessels enumerated, the Wilmot, Polly, Peggy and Molly, St. John's Paquet, Merrimack and probably one or two others, were owned by the company. This will account for the fact that the captains of these vessels were frequently transferred from one to another. This happened whenever a vessel was sent to the West Indies, in which case she was sailed by Jeremiah Pecker, Thomas Davis or Jonathan Blodget, who were familiar with the voyage in that direction.

The register of the sloop Merrimack (the only one that has been preserved) shows her to have been a square sterned vessel of 80 tons, built at Newbury in 1762. She was in the company's service in 1767 and was purchased in 1771 for £150. She was wrecked near St. John about four years later; her rigging and stores were saved from the sea only to be carried off soon after, by a party of Yankee marauders, to Machias. The St. John's Paquet was sold in 1770, and the Merrimack was probably bought to replace her. The smaller vessels of the company, such as the Polly, were often employed in the fishery.

Immediately after the formation of the company, in March, 1764, Richard Simonds appears to have gone

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to Passamaquoddy with the sloop Peggy and Molly and a party of fishermen, who were engaged there for the season's fishing ending August 20th. For a year or two the company continued to do business at Passamaquoddy, sending from thence quintals of dry cod fish, cod oil, pollock, etc., to Boston and Newburyport; but the number of competitors they encountered and the growing importance of their business at St. John led them to concentrate their attention at the latter place. Mr. Simonds, in a letter to Hazen & Jarvis dated at St. John's River, 27th May, 1765, writes, "There is such a number of traders at Passamaquoddy that I don't expect much trade there this spring; have prevailed with the Commandant to stop their going up this river."

The principal rival they had to encounter on the river St. John was John Anderson, who has been already mentioned in this series of papers. Mr. Anderson had, as regards the Indian trade, the advantage of being settled only a few miles below the Indian village of Aukpaque, his trading post occupying the site of Villebon's old fort at the mouth of the Nashwaak.* This situation he obtained through a memorial presented to the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia on the 15th October, 1765, soliciting a grant of 1,000 acres "on the Rivulet called Nashwaak" with a frontage of half a mile, of which he desired one half to be on the side on which his dwelling house stood.

Mr. Anderson had the honor to be appointed, on Aug. 17, 1765, the first justice of the peace for the new county of Sunbury; the next appointed seems to have been Col. Beamsly Glazier, on 15th October following. Mr. Anderson continued in business until the Revolutionary war put a stop to his operations. He procured

*On a map of the river St. John made in 1765 by Charles Morris, Surveyor General of N. S., the site of Villebon's fort is shown with an explanatory note, "Here is the ruins of a French fort and at present a Factory for the Indian trade, which is the furthermost English Settlement up the River."

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his supplies from Martin Gay of Boston, and early in the year 1768 had the misfortune to lose a vessel laden with goods for the Indian trade. Writing to his partners, Mr. Simonds mentions this incident and observes, "We imagine that the loss of Mr. Anderson's vessel will cause more trade to come to us than we should have had if she had gone safe, but as we have more goods on hand than we expected to have we have made only a small addition to our memo. [for supplies needed] and some alteration."*

The Indians frequently came down the river as far as St. John to trade with Simonds and White, but more commonly they were saved this trouble, because the company's sloops and schooners went up the river in the spring and fall with goods and supplies. In the autumn of 1767 a trading post was established at Ste. Anne's point. Not long afterwards this was carried away by an ice-jam and another was built to replace it. Benjamin Atherton seems to have been in charge for several years. In addition to trading with the Indians, he sold goods on commission to the white inhabitants, under the name and title of Atherton & Co. Furs and produce were often brought down from Ste. Anne's in gondolas, of which the company owned several, and in winter they were brought down on the ice by the use of horses and rude sleighs. The articles most commonly required by the Indians were guns, powder, shot, flints, knives, hatchets, Indian corn, flour, pork, molasses, stroud [a thick blue cloth] and blankets, with

*Anderson employed one Charles Martin as his bookkeeper and assistant. Losses, probably consequent upon the Revolutionary war, embarrassed his business and led him to mortgage his property, which afterwards passed into the hands of Frederick Pigon and Henry Appleton of England, who in the year 1790 sold it for £540 to Rev. Dr. John Agnew and his son, Captain Stair Agnew. In the deed of conveyance the property is described as "All that tract or farm called Monkton containing by estimation 1,000 acres situate lying and being in the Township of Newton in the County of Sunbury and Province of New Brunswick, heretofore called Nova Scotia." John Anderson seems to have removed to Quebec. The name of Monkton which he gave to his place was retained for many years and the ferry from Fredericton to the Nashwaak was long called the Monkton Ferry.

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a proportion of trinkets, beads, rings and ribbons, and lastly the inevitable "fire water" or New England rum. A few extracts from the correspondence of the company will throw additional light upon the nature of their Indian trade. Writing to Messrs. Blodget & Hazen on Dec. 16, 1764, James Simonds says:—

"I have long waited with impatience for the arrival of the Sloop with Goods, Stores, &c.; have now given her over for lost. * * We had a fine prospect of a good trade the last fall, and had the goods come in season should by this time have disposed of them to good advantage; but instead of that we have missed collecting great part of our Indian debts, as they expected us up the river and have not been here on that account."

Again on June 20, 1767, Mr. Simonds writes to Messrs. Hazen & Jarvis as follows:—

"The Indian debts we cannot lessen being obliged to give them new credit as a condition of their paying their old debts. They are very numerous at this time but have made bad hunts; we have got a share of their peltry, as much as all the others put together, and hope soon to collect some more. There is scarcely a shilling of money in the country. Respecting goods we think it will be for our advantage not to bring any toys or trinkets (unnecessary articles) in sight of the Indians, and by that means recover them from their bankruptcy. They must have provisions and coarse goods in the winter, and if we have a supply of these articles by keeping a store here and up the River make no doubt of having most of the trade. Shall have a store [at Ste. Annes] ready by September next and hope to have it finished the last of that month."

There is possibly a little exaggeration in the statements contained in onr next extract from a letter written at St. John June 22, 1768. Father Charles Francois Bailly, the priest referred to, was much beloved by the Indians and used his influence always in the interests of peace.

"We have made a smaller collection of furs this year than last occasioned by the large demands of the Priest for his services, and his ordering the Indians to leave their hunting a month sooner than usual to keep certain festivals, and by our being late at their village, the reason of which we informed you in our last. * * * There is a prospect of a scarcity of corn on this river the weather being very unseasonable, and it's expected that there will be a greater number of Indians assembled at Aughpaugh next fall than has for several years past. We shall therefore want a larger supply of corn than we have ever had before at once. Provisions, blankets and stroud is all the other articles we shall want."

In a letter dated at St. John River, March 6th, 1769, Mr. Simonds writes :—

"Gentlemen, we have received your favor of the 21st Jan'y by the Polly

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which had a long passage of 23 or 24 days. She might have sailed from here some days ago if it had not been for a deep snow that fell while the furs were coming down the river, so deep that it was with difficulty the horse was got in. We have sent all the furs and everything received except about 60 lbs. Castor and a quantity of Musquash skins that could not be brought down. * * We have credited little or nothing this winter as we shall not for the future, finding upon examining our accounts that trusting seemingly but little soon amounts to a large sum. We have by the nearest calculations we can make about £1,500 L.M., due to us from the English and Indians—about half that sum from each, which will be hard to collect tho we hope not much of it finally lost."

The Maliseet Indians, when the first English settlers established themselves on the St. John river, were a different race of people from their mild mannered and inoffensive descendants of today, and they sometimes assumed a very threatening attitude towards the settlers. Possibly their manners were not quite so barbarous as they were some twenty years before, when a party of unfortunate English captives were abused at the Indian village of Aukpaque in the manner which is thus described by one of the victims.*

"We arrived at an Indian village called Apoge [or Aukpaque]. At this place ye Squaws came down to the edge of the river, dancing and behaving themselves in the most brutish manner that is possible for human kind and taking us prisoners by the arms, one squaw on each side of a prisoner, they led us up to their villege and placed themselves in a large circle round us. After they had got all prepared for their dance, they made us sit down in a small circle about 18 inches assunder and began their frolick, dancing round and striking us in the face with English scalps till it caused the blood to issue from our mouths and noses in very great and plentiful manner, and tangled their hands in our hair and knocked our heads together with all their strength and vehemence; and when they was tired of this exercise they would take us by the hair and some by the ears, and standing behind us, oblige us to keep our necks strong so as to bear their weight, then raise themselves, their feet off the ground and their weight hanging by our hair and ears. In this manner they thumped us in the back and sides with their knees and feet to such a degree that I am incapable to express it, and the others that was dancing round if they saw any man falter and did not hold up his neck, they dashed the scalps in our faces with such violence that every man endeavored to bear them hanging by their hair in this manner rather than to have a double punishment. After they had finished their frolick that lasted about two hours and an half we was carried to one of their camps."

The party of English captives referred to were

*The narrator was Wm. Pote, Jr., of Falmouth. He was master of the schooner Montague, which with her crew was taken at Annapolis by a party of French and Indians in the summer of 1745.

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taken to Quebec and regained their freedom about three years later. It was with these very Indians and their immediate descendants that Messrs. Simonds and White undertook to establish their Indian trade in the year 1764. James White was the principal hand in the bartering business, and the Indians had great confidence in his integrity. Three-fourths of their trade consisted of beaver, the beaver consequently became the standard to which everything else that was bartered had to conform. Mr. White himself was commonly called by the Indians *Quahbeet*, or "the Beaver." There is a tradition to the effect that in the Indian trade the fist of Mr. White was considered to weigh a pound and his foot two pounds, both in buying and selling. However, the same story is told of other Indian traders, including an old Scotch merchant of Fredericton named Peter Fraser, * and it is not very probable there is much truth in it. The aborigines of New Brunswick, though simple minded, were not fools. It was customary in dealing with the savages to take pledges for the payment of debts, such as silver trinkets, armclasps, medals, fuzees, etc. A Machias privateer, whose captain bore the singular name of A. Greene Crabtree, in the autumn of 1777 plundered the store at Portland Point and carried off a trunk full of the pledges. This excited the ire of the Indian chiefs Pierre Thoma and Francis Xavier, who sent the following communication to Machias: "We desire you will return into the hands of Mr. White at Menaguashe† the pledges belonging to us which were plundered last fall out of Mr. Hazen's store by A. Greene Crabtree, captain of one of your privateers; for if you don't send them we will come for them in a manner you won't like."

The associations between the little colony at the

*See Lt. Col. Bairds "Seventy years of New Brunswick Life," p. 19.
†Indian name of St. John.

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mouth of the river and the settlers of the township of Maugerville were naturally very intimate. The vessels which were owned or chartered by the company supplied the readiest means of communication with New England, and the account books show that many individuals, and sometimes whole families of settlers, came to the St. John river as passengers in these vessels, bringing with them their household effects and sundry articles on which they paid freight. Captain Francis Peabody, for example, paid Wm. Hazen £11 for the freight of goods he shipped from Newburyport to St. John, in the schooner Wilmot, in November, 1764, and in January following he paid the freight on nine heifers and a lot of sheep, besides the fare of four passengers at 12 shillings each. In the same schooner came Jacob Barker, Oliver Perley, Humphrey Pickard, Zebulun Esty and David Burbank. The latter brought with him a set of mill irons. Each of these gentlemen was charged 13s. 6d. for "his club of cyder on the passage."

The names of nearly all the heads of families settled at Maugerville appear in the earlier accounts of Messrs. Simonds & White, and later we have those of the settlers at Gagetown, Burton and Ste. Annes. After a time it was found desirable for the convenience of the inhabitants—and probably for the interests of the company as well—to establish what were practically branches of their business up the river, and the account books contain invoices of goods shipped to Peter Carr at Musquash Island (just below Gagetown), to Jabez Nevers at Maugerville, and to Benjamin Atherton at Ste. Annes Point. These goods were evidently sold on commission and the returns made for the most part in lumber, furs and produce. It was no doubt in view of this trade with the white inhabitants that James Simonds, in a letter to Mr. Blodget dated October 1st, 1764, enquires the Boston prices of "oar rafters, shingles, clapboards,

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staves, spars, &c." The following spring he wrote to Mr. Hazen :—"I have been up the river and seen the scarcity there. The people have but little money, their pay must be shingles, clapboards, rafters, &c.; pray send word whether it will do to take such pay for goods."

It was soon discovered that it would be necessary to take whatever the settlers could give, for at times life was with them a struggle for existence. In the spring of the year 1769, for example, Mr. Simonds says, "The English inhabitants are more distressed for provisions than they have been since their settlement on this river," and he goes on to speak of the impossibility of collecting the debts due by them. The invoices of shipments show, however, that pine boards, shingles, clapboards, cedar posts, cordwood and spars were from time to time sent to Newburyport, besides some 50,000 white and red oak staves, most of these articles undoubtedly having been taken in trade. A few chaldrons of "pit coals" were also shipped showing that the Grand Lake coal was attracting some attention even at that early period.

The presence of the garrison at Fort Frederick was quite an advantage to the company. It afforded protection and also supplied quite an amount of patronage for the store at Portland Point. The old account books contain the names of Lieut. John Marr, Lieut. Gilfred Studholme, and Commissary Henry Green, who were at Fort Frederick in 1764; a captain Pierce Butler of the 29th Regiment was there the year following. Messrs. Simonds and White also supplied the garrison with wood and other articles, and no doubt it was not the least satisfactory condition of their business in this quarter that "John Bull" was the paymaster. Mr. Simonds wrote to Hazen and Jarvis in May 1765 :—"On ye 20th March we rec'd the contents

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of Mr. Studholme's bill which is forwarded in ye schooner. The officers and soldiers supplies and wooding is to be paid by a draft on the pay master at Halifax." Three years later the trade with the garrison was brought to an end by the removal of the soldiers. Mr. Simonds speaks of this circumstance in a letter dated July 25, 1768, in which he says "The Troops are withdrawn from all the outposts in the Province and sent to Boston to quell the mob. The charge of Fort Frederick is committed to me, which I accepted to prevent another person being appointed who would be a trader. I don't know but I must reside in the Garrison, but the privilege of the fisheries on that side of the River and the use of the King's boats will be more than an equivalent for the inconvenience." The defenceless condition of St. John after the withdrawal of the garrison brought disaster to the settlers there some years later, but of this we shall speak hereafter.

The situation of Messrs. Simonds and White was no easy one. Their life was one of toil and exposure—sometimes of real privation. Difficulties were constantly to be encountered, disappointments to be endured, problems to be solved. Good society there was none. Religious and educational privileges were also lacking. An inventory of certain household effects, made in the year 1775, shows that Mr. Simonds owned a Bible and Prayer Book, and that Mr. White had a Bible and a copy of Watt's psalms and hymns; that they were not regular church goers was not their own fault. We gather from their account books that no business was transacted on Sunday, but there was apparently no observance of any other day, unless we may so consider the issue of an extra allowance of rum to the hands at Christmas.

Probably the first religious services held at our

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new settlement at the mouth of the St. John were those conducted by the Rev. Thomas Wood of Annapolis, on the 2nd July, 1769; and it is very doubtful if any clergyman before or since has had so varied an experience as that of Mr. Wood the Sunday he, for the first time, officiated there. In the morning he held divine service in English and baptized four children. In the afternoon he held an Indian service for some of the natives who chanced to be there, and baptized an Indian girl; after service the Indians were asked to sing an anthem which, he says, "they performed very harmoniously." In the evening, many of the French inhabitants being present, he held service in French, the Indians also attending, many of them understanding that language. It is propable that there were present at the English service Mr. Simonds and Mr. White with their employees, Edmund Black, Samuel Abbot, Samuel Middleton, Michæl Hodge, Adonijah Colby, Stephen Dow, Elijah Estabrooks, John Bradley William Godsoe, John Mack, Asa Stephens, Thomas Blasdel and Thomas West, with perhaps a few other settlers living near the harbor.

Of the men whose names are here given it may be observed in passing that Edward Black was employed as foreman in the lime burning; Abbot, Middleton and Godsoe were coopers employed in the manufacture of hogsheads and barrels, intended usually for lime—sometimes for fish; Hodge and Colby were shipwrights and were then engaged in building a schooner for the company; the rest were fishermen and laborers. Thomas West was a colored man, apparently of an easy going temperament, as Mr. Simonds says in one of his letters to Hazen and Jarvis, "That rascal negro West cannot be flattered or drove to do one fourth part of a man's work; shall give him a strong dose on

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Monday morning which will make him better or worse, no dependence can be put on him."

W. O. RAYMOND.

AN EARLY NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE.

On a more ambitious scale than the Amaranth, Messrs. Edward Manning and R. Aitken, in 1860, began in St. John the publication of a monthly magazine, devoted to education and general literature. The printers were Messrs. Barnes & Co., and the title of the venture was The Guardian. The editors were young men and full of hope, and their object was to supply a long felt want, for the magazines which our people read in those days, were all imported, the "more valuable" ones coming from Britain, and while a few American serials were "excellent," a great many of them were "very trashy." The scope of the Guardian was outlined in its prospectus, and was not unlike, in aim and aspiration, the monthly in which these words appear. New Brunswick, the editors thought, could afford topics enough for the employment of the most prolific pen, and while politics were eschewed, all else relating to the province, would find a place. For the imagination, the editors pointed out, there were the primeval forest, the remnant of the red men, land and sea, hill and dale. The soil, trade, navigation, the resources of the great waters, and historic achievement were only awaiting the pen of the annalist and student to lay bare their truths. Nor in the prospectus, were the Loyalists forgotten. Indeed, the Guardian was to be largely provincial in tone and in character, and a lengthy programme was prepared.. Papers relating to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were also freely admitted.

The magazine lived exactly nine months. It was withdrawn in September, after a hard but patriotic struggle, to the regret of its promoters and the few

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who took it in on personal grounds. The contributors were not paid.

There were a few selected articles and poems published, and these were indicated by an asterisk, but the greater part of the contents was original and dealt with matters of general and provincial interest.

The editors did not always confine themselves to the policy laid down in their scheme, though the contributors were residents or natives of St. John. Thus, we have "Papers by a Recluse,"—a series of speculative articles, whimsical and satirical,—by Dr. Sinclair. They enjoyed a vogue, and by a little circle of friends were discussed and praised. The Doctor was an observer, and his odd way of hitting off the follies of the time had its attractions. Such subjects as "Poetry in America," "British Poetry," "State of the World at the Christian Advent," etc., appeared side by side with articles more in line with the object of the promoters. These papers were pretty heavy. Mr. William R. M. Burtis, who had been a contributor of tales to the Amaranth, furnished most of the fiction. He wrote "Grace Thornton, a Tale of Acadia," in eleven chapters.

Mr. R. Peniston Starr published in the Guardian four or five papers on Coal. The printer supplied him with a pseudonym unconsciously. The last page of Mr. Starr's first paper, contained his initials. But the only letters which the compositor saw were on the page immediately preceding the last page, and they were "P. T. O."—(please turn over). P. T. O. was accordingly adopted by this author, much to the amusement of those who knew the secret.

There was a pretty good list of provincial subjects discussed. Botany of the Lower Provinces, Education in New Brunswick, the Geography of New Brunswick, Summer Trips in Acadia, Geography of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, History of Acadia,

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New Brunswick and Nova Scotia since 1784, were the principal of these. Caribou and the Canadian grouse or spruce partridge had their historians also.

The Guardian was well occupied with variety. The monthly instalments of papers, however, were very short, some of them taking up less than two pages of space. The nine numbers, bound, made a volume of 218 pages, and the cost to subscribers for the set was two shillings and sixpence. The letter-press was set in rather small type, and only now and then were the pages leaded.

Another attempt to establish a magazine in St. John, took place in 1867, when Stewart's Quarterly entered the field. It lived five years, and was succeeded by the Maritime Monthly, whose editors were the Rev. James Bennett, D. D., and Mr. H. L. Spencer, to which periodical the old contributors to the Quarterly transferred their pens. GEORGE STEWART.

THE LOSS OF THE ROYAL TAR.

The loss of the St. John steamer Royal Tar, in the year 1836, was in many ways one of the most remarkable marine disasters in the annals of the Maritime Provinces. For many years it held a leading place in the stories of strange events handed down from father to son, and even at this day the older people can recall the intense interest with which, in their younger days, they listened to the recital of incidents of the notable casualty. A few years ago the writer published a partial account of the disaster in one of the St. John newspapers, * and since then he has gathered further facts which now enable him to present the story in a form worthy of preservation by the students of local history.

*Daily Telegraph, Oct. 26, 1896.

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The Royal Tar was the pioneer steamer on the route between St. John, Eastport and Portland, Maine, and the establishment of this line to connect at Portland for Boston was an enterprise of no small importance on the part of some of the people of St. John. This steamer was built at the shipyard of William and Isaac Olive, Carleton, and launched in November, 1835. It was of 400 tons burthen, 146 feet keel, 160 feet on deck and 24 feet beam, and was fitted and equipped in an unusually fine style for those days. The cost was about $40,000. One half interest in the venture was owned by John Hammond, and the remaining half was held between Daniel McLaughlin and Mackay Brothers & Co. The steamer was commanded by Captain Thomas Reed, father of the late Thomas M. Reed.

There was great rejoicing in St. John when this fine steamer was completed and ready for the route. The trial trip took place in the harbor on Monday, the 2nd of May, 1836, and was an event in which a large number of citizens took a lively interest. Between two and three hundred guests were on board, and after the boat had steamed around the harbor, and had made the run from Partridge Island to Reed's Point in fifteen minutes, there was a general jollification at the expense of the owners. A hot luncheon was served, and a contemporary account says it was accompanied by "rivers of sherry and oceans of champagne." The steamer had been named the Royal Tar in compliment to the reigning king, William IV, and among the toasts was one to "The patriotic and beloved sovereign from whom the 'Royal Tar' is named—The Sailor King." On June 5 the steamer made its first trip to Eastport and St. Andrews, and in returning made the run from Eastport to St. John in less than five hours, a record breaking trip for that era of steam navigation. The steamer also made the run to Fredericton and back, and

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thereafter was put regularly on the route to Portland once a week and once a week on the river route.

The Royal Tar arrived at St. John from Portland on its regular trip on Monday, October 17, 1836, and sailed from its berth at Peter's wharf on Friday, October 21, having on board the crew of 21, and 72 passengers, including a number of women and children. Captain Reed was in command, and had with him Francis Black, mate; N. Marshall, engineer; J. Kehoe, second engineer; W. G. Brown, steward; and Margaret Watts, stewardess. The pilot was a Mr. Atkins. The passenger list was larger than usual, as it had the members of Fuller's menagerie, or "caravan," as it was called in those days. This show had been travelling through Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and gave an exhibition in St. John before starting on its return to the United States. The wild animals included an elephant, two camels, and the usual variety of captive beasts and birds which go to make up the stock of a menagerie. In addition to these was a large wax work exhibit. There was also a huge show wagon called an omnibus, as well as wagons required for carrying the cages, with the horses needed to draw them. The caravan was exhibited on the ground at the corner of Charlotte and Union Streets, * the field at that time extending along Union street as far as the present site of Hamm's stables and along Charlotte street to the alley north of Dr. Pidler's house, now owned by S. F. Matthews. The Humberfiled Academy, then a new building, was on the corner. Everybody went to see the show, which was a great one for those times, and there was a large crowd at the wharf, at the foot of Duke street, to see the animals depart

*I have this on the authority of Mr. W. P. Dole, who distinctly remembers, as a lad, being taken to see the show. He says there were three elephants, though only one is mentioned in the contemporary accounts of the disaster. The large elephant, was a remarkably intelligent creature.

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and to hear the band play on the deck of the steamers.

When the Royal Tar left St. John it had all this large caravan aboard, and save for the greater proportion of human beings must have appeared like a modern Noah's ark. There was heavy weather along the coast in the latter part of October, 1836, and when the Royal Tar left Eastport on the evening of the 21st, the wind was found to be blowing so hard from the westward that the steamer put into Little River for safety. The gale continued for three days, but on the afternoon of Monday, the 24th, another attempt was made to resume the voyage. Finding a heavy sea outside and the wind still from the westward, the steamer put into Machias Bay and again came to anchor, remaining until midnight, when the wind shifted to northwest and the voyage was again resumed.

According to the narrative of Captain Reed, published in the papers of that time, all seems to have gone well until about 1.30 in the afternoon of the following day, Tuesday, Oct. 25, when the engineer reported that the water had been allowed to get too low in the boiler. This appears to have been a case of carelessness, due to the neglect of the second engineer. On hearing this report, the captain ordered the engine stopped and the safety valve opened, the steamer being brought to anchor about a mile and a half from Fox Islands, in Penobscot Bay. The fire in the furnace was extinguished, and it was supposed that all danger from the overheating was over. The force pump was set at work to supply more water to the boiler, but in about half an hour the steamer was found to be on fire under the deck over the boiler. The discovery was made by Brown, the steward. An effort was made to extinguish the flames by means of hose attached to the pump, but it proved unavailing. The fire spread rapidly and it was plain the steamer was doomed.

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The scene of horror that ensued may be in part imagined. The steamer was ablaze in the middle, while the crew and passengers were madly rushing to and fro at the bow and stern. The shouts of excited men, the shrieks of helpless women and the wails of little children were mingled with the roars of terror from the imprisoned wild beasts, while the fierce crackling of the advancing flames told of the increasing peril that came with every moment. With 93 people in peril of death, the only way of escape was by two boats, capable of carrying less than a third of that number. Captain Reed, with two of the crew, lowered the small boat at the stern and got into it, in order to prepare rafts and save as many people as possible. At the same time sixteen able-bodied men lowered the large quarter boat, into which they jumped and rowed away, leaving their fellows, with the women and children, to escape as best they could. The selfish fellows kept on rowing until they reached Isle Haut, several miles distant, while many of those they had abandoned were dying amid the flames or being engulfed by the sea.

In the meantime the Royal Tar's cable was slipped, the jib and mainsail were set and the steamer endeavored to make for the nearest land. Captain Reed stood by with the boat, and as the terrified passengers began to jump overboard was able to save several lives, including those of J. T. Sherwood, British consul at Portland, and James H. Fowler of St. John.

The scene of horror increased every moment. Those on the steamer crowded still more closely to the bow and stern. Shrieks of despair and shouts for help filled the air. The roaring and screaming of the beasts and the glare of the flames suggested pandemonium let loose on the sea. The larger animals, freed from their fastenings, rushed around the deck. Six horses and

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two camels were pushed overboard and started to swim to the land, but only two horses reached it. The big elephant, after tramping and bellowing in terror, rushed to the side of the steamer and jumped overboard. In doing this, and in its struggles in the water, it upset a raft of planks and ladders, on which a number of people had found refuge, and several were drowned. Finally, the animal started to swim to the land, but never reached there. Every animal of the caravan, except the two horses, perished either from suffocation in the flames or by drowning.

Help for the perishing people was near at hand, however, for the fire was seen by the U. S. revenue cutter Veto, commanded by Howland Dyer of Castine, which reached the scene half an hour later. This was a schooner of 40 tons, and its boats were so small as to be of little use in the work of rescue. Captain Reed and his men, however, used their boat with the result of saving about 40 more persons. The last boat load was put aboard the cutter at 5.30 and landed at Isle Haut about 7 o'clock in the same evening. By the time the last survivor had been rescued, the burning steamer had drifted five or six miles. It was then a sheet of flame and was being blown rapidly out to sea. The light disappeared from view about 10 o'clock.

A few days later a schooner passed a dead elephant floating out to sea. Later, a traveller's trunk, with about $90 in money in it, was picked up, and on the 12th of November a schooner arriving at Portland reported having passed the remains of a burned steamer near Cash's Ledge. The trunk was the only trace of the effects ever brought to land.

The number of those who lost their lives was 32, of whom 29 were passengers and three of the crew, including Margaret Watts, the stewardess. Among the five cabin passengers lost was Mr. Price, of the St.

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John river. Of the forward passengers, those lost were four men, nine women and ten children. Several of the women, despairing of rescue, threw their children into the sea and jumped after them. One woman swam twice around the steamer before she sank and was drowned.

Among the St. John men who were saved were several whose names were well known in later years, including Andrew Garrison, Captain John Hammond, John Ansley, George Eaton, James H. Fowler, and W. H. Harrison. Stinson Patten, of Fredericton, was also among the saved. Of this number the only survivor is Mr. William H. Harrison, now in his 86th year, who is a resident of Sackville, N. B. When the account before referred to was published in 1896, Mr. Harrison expressed his satisfaction at the accuracy of it, and the Sackville Post gave some of his personal recollections of this disaster. Mr. Harrison was in his 24th year at the time of the memorable calamity, and had taken passage for Portland as the shortest way of reaching Upper Canada. While the steamer was burning he made several attempts to construct a raft, but failing in the effort he made himself fast to the stern of the vessel as far as he could get from the flames. Others availed themselves of the same means of safety, and among them was Alexander Black, of Pugwash, N. S. This was probably the mate, whose name appears in the list as Francis Black. While the only remaining boat of the Royal Tar was transferring the imperilled passengers to the U. S. cutter, the burning steamer was drifting rapidly out to sea. Messrs. Harrison and Black had to cling to it nearly three hours before they were rescued.

In addition to the loss of the steamer and cargo, a large amount of money in bills and specie was destroyed in the fire. There was no insurance on the vessel or

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other property and the total loss was estimated at about $100,000.

In the work of rescue Captain Reed received great help from W. G. Brown, the steward, and both were greatly exhausted by their labors. They, with others of the crew, reached St. John on the following Saturday, in the schooner Ploughboy from Eastport. Here a fresh shock awaited Captain Reed. In the newspapers of that week was this notice :

Died, on Tuesday morning, after a short illness, William Grant, son of Captain Thomas Reed, in the 18th year of his age. Funeral on Saturday at 2 o'clock, from his father's residence, when the friends and acquaintances of the family are requested to attend.

The boy had been in apparent health when the Royal Tar started on the 21st, but had died after an illness of 48 hours, on the very day the steamer was burned. He was buried a few hours after his father's return. His name is found on a stone in the Old Burial Ground.

The friends of Captain Reed in St. John soon after presented him with a purse of $621 in recognition of his work in rescuing the passengers and crew, and Steward Brown received $110 as a gift from a number of the young men of the city. Captain Reed became harbormaster of this port in 1841, and died in August, 1860.

For a number of years it was the custom of the St. John men who survived the disaster to sup together on the 25th of October in each year. One of the last of these survivors, apart from Mr. Harrison, was Mr. George Eaton, who died on the 20th of October, 1886, five days before the fiftieth anniversary.

Sixty years ago St. John had among its local poets a genius named Arthur Slader, who was the author of a story in verse of the burning of the Royal Tar. There was also a still more remarkable rhyme, composed by somebody else, which was placed on a canvas outside by The Hopley Theatre, at Golden Ball

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corner, as an advertisement of a panorama of the burning of the Royal Tar. The lines ran:—

The Royal Tar, she went too far,
Her boiler got too hot;
She'll never see St. John again,
Because she's gone to pot.

How, in the face of such a calamity, such a rhyme could ever have found popular acceptance is not clear at this day, but a popular quotation it was for many years after the event, as some who are still comparatively young men can attest. Possibly it took with the crowd because of the jingle, but certainly not because it was an appropriate commemoration of one of the saddest of tragedies. W. K. REYNOLDS.

THE SITE OF FORT LATOUR.

Although I would have preferred not to write a controversial paper for THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE at so early a period in its history, the article by Prof. W. F. Ganong, entitled "Where Stood Fort LaTour?" seems to leave me no choice but to reply to it, for silence on my part, at this time, might be taken to imply assent to his theories. I was the first New Brunswick writer, I believe, to prove, by publishing the mortgage of LaTour's fort, that it was at the mouth of the River St. John and not at Jemseg where former writers had placed it, and I early came to the conclusion that it was situated on the west side of the harbor of St. John, behind Navy Island. Dr. Ganong agrees with me that Fort LaTour was "behind" Navy Island, but he appears to think that this description applies to Portland Point, a locality better known to most of the residents of this City by the name of Rankin's Wharf. As the decision of this question of site is thus largely reduced to the proper interpretation

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of the meaning of a very common English word, I feel that I can ask the readers of this paper to assume the position of judges and to decide for themselves between the reasonableness of Dr. Ganong's view of the subject and my own.

For the proofs of his theory that Fort LaTour stood at Portland Point, and that the fort on the Carleton side, now known as Old Fort, was the one built by d'Aulnay Charnisay, LaTour's enemy, Dr. Ganong relies on a description or St. John written by Nicholas Denys, who had visited Fort LaTour in the lifetime of its owner, and also on the evidence of maps which place Fort LaTour on the east side of the harbor of St. John. Naturally and properly he depends mainly on the testimony of Denys, which is that of a contemporary and eyewitness, and I shall follow his example in this respect. I therefore repeat the quotation from Denys which appeared in Dr. Ganong's paper in the July issue of this magazine and which is as follows:—

"This entrance is narrow, because of a little island which is to larboard or on the left side, which being passed the river is much larger. On the same side as the island there are large marshes or flats which are covered at high tide; the beach is of muddy sand which makes a point, which passed, there is a cove (or creek) which makes into the said marshes, of which the entrance is narrow, and there the late Sieur Monsieur de la Tour has caused to be made a weir, in which were caught a great number of those Gaspereaux which were salted for winter, [here follows an account of the fish caught]. A little farther on, beyond the said weir, there is a little knoll where d'Aunay built his fort, which I have not found well placed according to my idea, for it is commanded by an island which is very near and higher ground, and behind which all ships can place themselves under cover from the fort, in which there is only water from pits, which is not very good, no better than that outside the fort. It would have been in my opinion better placed behind the island where vessels anchor, and where it would have been higher, and in consequence not commanded by other neighboring places, and would have had good water, as in that which was built by the said late Sieur de la Tour, which was destroyed by d'Aunay after he had wrongfully taken possession of it, etc."

Dr. Ganong in his paper proceeds to identify the various localities referred to by Denys, and up to a certain point I agree with him. I admit that the island

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referred to as being at the entrance of the harbor is Partridge Island, and that the point of sand is the place now called Sand Point, the site of the deep water wharf of the Canadian Pacific railway. The cove or creek where LaTour had his weir is also easily recognized as that which runs through the Carleton flats from the Mill Pond. The people of St. John are very familiar with this place for it is the locality of the famous landslide of 1896, and of the city's deep water wharves which have done so much to make the name of this port known abroad. So far I am with Dr. Ganong in the work of identification, but when he proceeds to select "Old Fort' in Carleton as the "little knoll" on which Charnisay built his fort I must take issue with him. I am quite willing to admit that if Denys had stopped at this point I might have accepted Dr. Ganong's theory, although I do not think that a "little knoll" is a good description of the site of the Carleton fort. Its elevation is slight, but as a point of land it must have been very prominent when Denys saw it before the Carleton flats were covered with wharves. That accurate observer would therefore have probably described it as being the extremity of a point of land if he had been referring to it in that connexion. On the other hand Portland Point is really no point at all, and the site of the fort there might very well be described as a "little knoll." Denys does not say that this "little knoll" was on the west side, but that it was "a little farther on beyond the said weir." Now the distance from Sand Point, where the weir was, to "Old Fort," Carleton is 2,600 feet, while to Portland Point it is 4,400 feet. As the shortest of these distances is just half a mile, it appears to me that the term "a little farther on" is quite as applicable to the larger distance as to the shorter. However, I am not concerned to find a location for Charnisay's fort at Portland Point or

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elsewhere, I only desire to show that it could not have been at "Old Fort", Carleton, where Dr. Ganong undertakes to place it, although to accomplish this it becomes neeessary for him to give the word behind a different meaning from that which it has in ordinary use. If "behind" and "in front of" were interchangeable terms I might yield to Dr. Ganong's views, but not otherwise.

If Harbor Master Taylor ordered a foreign sea captain to moor his vessel at Rankin's wharf, and as a farther direction told him that Rankin's wharf was behind Navy Island, what chance would the foreign captain have of finding that locality? He would never find it from that direction, because Rankin's wharf is no more behind Navy Island than the South wharf is, or than any other wharf on the east side. Yet Dr. Ganong, in his paper on the site of Fort LaTour read before the Royal Society of Canada, and in his article in the NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE, tries to make it appear that this locality is behind Navy Island. Denys says that he did not think Charnisay's fort well placed because it is commanded by an island which is very near it, and behind which ships can place themselves under cover from the fort. It would have been, in his opinion, better placed behind the island where vessels anchor, and where it would have been higher and not commanded by other neighboring places. "Old Fort", on the Carleton side, is behind Navy Island, the island where vessels anchor, and there is no other locality in the harbor that answers this description. The text of Denys, which I quote above, leads us to infer that Fort LaTour was on that site, and I have no doubt that was the case. At all events Denys clearly shows that Charnisay's fort was not there, thus effectually disproving Dr. Ganong's theory. I must confess that it is a puzzle to me to understand how so accurate an

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observer and so candid a writer as Dr. Ganong has been able to bring himself to the belief that the term "behind" Navy Island could apply to Portland Point or any other points on the east side of the harbor.

The evidence of maps upon which Dr. Ganong relied to prove that Fort LaTour was on the east side of the harbor of St. John, has not gone far to establish his case. He says that all of the maps known to him, dated before the year 1700, which mark Fort LaTour, place it on the east side, "with one exception." This exception, however, is rather important for it is the Duval map, which in the editions of 1653 and 1664 place it on the west side. A third edition of this map, issued in 1677, shows the fort on the east side, but does not name it. The first two editions of the Duval map are the earliest extant after the occupation of Fort LaTour in 1635, and therefor their authority is of the highest. Dr. Ganong thinks that the edition of this map of 1677 is the most to be relied upon, because "second or later editions of maps, like later editions of books, are likely to be more accurate than the first." This proposition is an entire reversal of the rules of evidence which prevails in courts of law, and it is no more to be accepted than Dr. Ganong's attempt to make the word "behind" mean the same thing as in front of. The ancient deed proves itself; the ancient map is of higher authority than any modern edition of it, where the question to be decided is the site of a fort which existed when the ancient map was made but which had become a ruin before the later map appeared. Fort LaTour was completed about the year 1635. It was captured by Charnisay and destroyed in 1645. Its ruin was so complete that the latter found it necessary to build another fort on a different site to maintain his occupation on the River St. John. When LaTour again obtained possession of his property, after

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Charnisay's death, in 1650, we are left in doubt as to whether he occupied his old fort or the new one which Charnisay had built. When he sold out his rights in Acadia to Temple and Crowne, a few years later, he probably retained his residence in one of the forts while the English occupied the other. The fort in which he resided would likely be named Fort La-Tour, whether it was the original Fort LaTour or not, and this may account for Fort LaTour being placed on the east side of the harbor in some maps. LaTour died in 1666 and soon after his death Acadia was restored to France under the terms of the treaty of Breda. No mention is made of Fort LaTour in connection with the surrender of the various Acadian forts to the French, and therefore we may infer that this fort, in 1670, had become a ruin. Probably, however, Fort LaTour was the one occupied by De Marson or Soulanges, who from 1670 to 1678 commanded on the St. John river under the Governor of Acadia. When Villebon proposed to remove his garrison from Fort Nashwaak to Fort LaTour, in 1697, he found that the old fort was in fairly good condition, and he restored it and improved it. Three or four years later it was abandoned and the French garrison removed to Port Royal. It was, however, occupied by the French after the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, and when the French were driven away from the St. John river, three years later, it was occupied by an English garrison and restored or rebuilt. The fort on the west side, therefore, notwithstanding some defects incident to its situation, was always preferred to the one on the east side. Indeed our knowledge of the latter is so slight that there are really some doubts as to whether there ever was a fort on the east side. The selection of the west side site by LaTour, by Villebon and by the English, is the best answer that could be given to Dr. Ganong's criticisms,

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based on it being commanded by higher ground and not being well supplied with water. It thoroughly commanded the entrance to the river, which no fort erected at Portland Point could do, because the range of cannon two hundred and fifty years ago was slight. Dr. Ganong supposes that an enemy's ship could lie in the channel and attack Fort LaTour, and he gives this as one reason why Fort LaTour was located at Portland Point. He does not seem to be aware that the channel between Navy Island and the east side is 160 feet deep, that the current runs with fearful rapidity, so that no man in his senses would anchor his ship there unless he wished to have his vessel destroyed. The place where vessels lay, referred to by Denys in his book, was on the Carleton side just north and west of Navy Island and close to the "Old Fort." That place could be reached at high water by vessels passing through the Buttermilk channel in spite of anything that the occupants of a fort at Portland Point could do to prevent them, and if they were armed ships they could lie to the north-west of Navy Island and cannonade Portland Point without being liable to suffer much damage themselves. This was the fatal vice of the Portland Point site—that it did not command the river and that it could be attacked by the ships of an enemy lying behind Navy Island. The description of Denys shows that this was why he did not think Charnisay's fort well placed, but preferred the site behind Navy Island where he leads us to infer Fort LaTour was situated.

This subject might be pursued further, but enough, I think, has been said to show that Mr. Ganong's view with regard to the site of Fort LaTour, is not correct; in fact the witnesses which he calls to prove his case, the description of Denys and the maps, put him out of court and show him to be in the wrong.

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Those who have been accustomed to look upon "Old Fort" at Carleton, as a hallowed spot, and as the original Fort LaTour, the scene of Lady LaTour's heroism and death, may therefore be reassured, for they have not been worshipping at a false shrine.

JAMES HANNAY.

*THE STORY OF BROOK WATSON.**

Among the many actors in the struggle for independence, which terminated successfully for the American colonists in 1783, was Brook Watson, commissary general to the British forces under Sir Guy Carleton. Considering the prominent part taken by him in the war of the American Revolution, and the very successful and honorable position afterwards attained by him in England, together with the romantic episodes of his boyhood and youth, it is extraordinary how little is generally known of him, and how seldom he is referred to in historical writings, when the events of that stirring time are recalled. The citizens of St. John, are especially interested in his memory, for his counsel and assistance were of great value to the unfortunate exiles who sought these shores on the termination of the contest which deprived them of home and patrimony. As an evidence of their appreciation of the services rendered, and of the respect they had for him, they named one of the streets in the city which they were building "Watson" street, and one of the wards "Brooks" ward, so that the name of Brook Watson is perpetuated among us to the present day.

From his earliest years his life was one of adventure and vicissitude, and nothing in fiction is stranger

*I am indebted to the Halifax Herald of Dec. 1888, and to the collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society for 1879-81, for many interesting facts in this paper.

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than his career, which commencing in 1750 a sailor boy in Boston, depending on the good will of those about him, almost strangers, terminated in England in 1807, after he had been commissary general of the forces in America, sheriff and lord mayor of London, member of parliament for London, and a baronet of the United Kingdom. From various sources I have gathered the principal events in his history, but with regard to his connection with New Brunswick my information is meagre, confined to a few documents, and brief mention of important services rendered. That his assistance was of great importance and practical benefit to the Loyalists is undoubted, as is evidenced by the great respect and esteem that was entertained for him by the first settlers of the province.

Brook Watson was born at Plymouth, England, in 1735. His father, John Watson of Kingston upon Hull, was a Hamburg merchant who was unfortunate in business, and both of his parents died when he was not more than ten years of age. He appears to have had but few friends, who were not much interested in him and who sent him to Boston, Mass, to a Mr. Levens, a distant relative, belonging to Hull, who was engaged in business there. Mr. Levens sent him to sea in a vessel in which he was interested, and while the vessel was at Havana, Watson had a leg bitten off by a shark when bathing in the harbor. He was taken to the Havana hospital, and treated by the Spaniards with much humanity, and when cured found means of returning to Boston. On his return he heard that his relative had failed and left the place, and he found himself utterly friendless and penniless, and a cripple. The mistress of the house where Mr. Levens had been boarding received him in the most unfeeling manner, and fearing that he would be a burden to her made arrangement to apprentice him to a tailor, very much

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against his inclination. At this critical period of his life, a friend appeared on the scene in the person of Captain John Huston, of Chignecto, Nova Scotia. Capt Huston was boarding at the house, and took pity on the friendless boy, and proposed to him to go home with him to Chignecto. He was a trader and owner of vessels, and was then in Boston in one of his own coasters. Young Watson gladly closed with this offer, but before leaving, Huston was put under bonds not to allow Watson to come back and be a charge on the town. The youth returned home with Capt. Huston, who found him such an honorable and honest lad, attentive and obliging and willing to learn and improve himself, that he conceived a particular regard for the boy and treated him rather as a son than as a servant.

This was in 1750, when Watson was in his fifteenth year, the same year that LaCorne began the erection of Fort Beausejour, the English building Fort Lawrence on the south side of the Missiquash, just opposite Fort Beausejour. There was constant skirmishing between these until 1755, when the French were completely routed, and driven from the Isthmus, and the unfortunate Acadians were expelled from the province. During this time Watson was actively engaged in Captain Houston's business and tending in his store.

On the arrival of the British troops, there came with them Captain Winslow, commissary, who took much interest in Watson, taught him bookkeeping and instilled in him business habits, which laid much of the foundation of his future prosperity. He was also a favorite with Colonel Robert Monkton, the commander of the forces, who employed him in adjusting his books and transacting his business. In fact, at the time he appears to have been regularly employed in the service, for in a letter written by him to the Rev. Dr. Brown,

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dated London, July 1, 1791, published in the collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society for 1879-80, he says, "In September (1755) I was directed to proceed with a party of Provincials to the Baie Verte, then a considerable and flourishing settlement, there to await further orders, which I received the following day, to collect and send to Beausejour for embarkation, all the women and children to be found in that district and on leaving the town to force it, this painful task performed, I was afterwards employed in victualling the transports for their reception."

As an instance of the courage and capacity of Watson, the following incident, related by Rev. Hugh Graham in a letter to Dr. Brown, dated Cornwallis, March, 1791, is of interest: "Some time after the English forces had taken possession of Fort Cumberland, and the French had retreated to the west side of the river, a number of English cattle had one day crossed the river at low water, and strolled on the French side. This was not observed on the English side till after the tide had begun to make, and then it was much queried if it might be practicable to bring them back. None went forward to make the attempt, only Watson said he would go for one, and indeed they all stood back and let him go alone. He stripped, swam over the riverside, and all got round the cattle, and was driving them towards the river, when a party of French were at his heels. One of them called out, 'Young man, what have you to do upon the King of France's land?' To which Watson replied, that 'His present concern was neither with the King of France, nor about his land, but he meant to take care of the English cattle'. This little feat of Watson was talked of with a good deal of pleasantry on both sides, and gained him not a little credit."

In an obituary notice which appeared in the

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Gentlemans Magazine of October, 1807, it is mentioned that he was at the seige of Louisburg with the immortal Wolfe in 1758. I can find no other record of his services in this connection, but presume that he was still employed with his friend and patron, Colonel Winslow.

About this time (1758) he entered into partnership with Mr. Joseph Slayter of Halifax, N. S., a grand uncle of Dr. W. B. Slayter. Slayter was to manage the Halifax, and Watson the Cumberland branch of the business. In 1759, Watson removed to London, and the business was continued until the death of Mr. Slayter, the senior partner, 20 May, 1763. He next became connected with Mr. Mauger, who had been a resident of Halifax, and whose name is commemorated, in "Mauger's Beach" in Nova Scotia and "Maugerville" in New Brunswick. He was a gentleman of property and made large advances to Watson. They went into partnership and did a large business in the North American trade.

In 1760, Brook Watson married Helen, daughter of Colin Campbell of Edingburgh. In spite of his crippled condition from the loss of his leg, his life in England was an active one. He was among the first of those gentlemen who, in 1779, formed the Light Horse Volunteers, who were of great assistance in suppressing the alarming riots in 1780.

In 1781 he was appointed commissary general in the army of North America, under the command of Sir Guy Carleton, and remained in that duty till the end of the war.

I have previously mentioned the esteem in which he was held by the Loyalists. In the following extract from a letter written by him to the Rev. Dr. Brown in July 1791, he modestly alludes to the friendly services

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he was able to do for them at the conclusion of the war:—

> In 1755, I was a very humble instrument in sending eighteen hundred of those suffering mortals (French Acadians) out of the Province. In 1783, as Commissary General to the army serving in North America, it became my duty under the command of Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, to embark thirty-five thousand Loyalists at New York to take shelter in it, and I trust all in my power was done to soften the affliction of the Acadians, and alleviate the sufferings of the Loyalists, who were so severely treated for endeavoring to support the Union of the British Empire; they had great reason to bless the considerate mind and feeling heart of Lord Dorchester, under whose directions and providential care, ever awake to their wants, I had the pleasing task of liberally providing for them everything necessary to their transportation and settlement, with provisions for one year after their arrival, and this allowance was still longer continued to them by the public. To the eternal honour of the nation will be the record of their having considered the particular case of every individua who claims to have suffered by their loyalty, and after a ruinous war which added one hundred and twenty millions to the public debt, granted compensation for their losses, and relief for their sufferings to the amount of between three or four millions, besides annuities amounting to sixty thousand pounds a year.

After the war, many Loyalists who came to St. John had claims against the British government for heavy losses in lands and goods by reason of their adherence to the crown, and from their knowledge of the business abilities and honesty of character of Watson, they put their claims in his hands for settlement. The officers of the Colonial army, who ranked with those in the Imperial service, were placed on half pay, and made him their agent for recovering their allowance. As an instance, I may mention the case of Christopher Sower, king's printer for New Brunswick. At the close of the war he went to London to get compensation for his losses. He sought the aid of Brook Watson, who in addition to an allowance in money, procured for him a pension with the office of deputy postmaster general and king's printer of New Brunswick. In gratitude for the assistance rendered he named his only son Brook Watson Sower.

At the meeting of the legislature of New Brunswick in 1786, Brook Watson was appointed agent for

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the province, a position he held until 1794. At the session of that year the following resolution was passed:—"Resolved, This House taking into consideration the necessity of having an agent residing in England, and His Majesty's service having required the attendance of Brook Watson, Esq., late Member of Parliament and Agent of the Province, with his Majesty's forces on the Continent, Resolved, that the thanks of this House be communicated to Brook Watson, late Agent of this Province for his past services."

On his return to England at the conclusion of peace, he was rewarded by parliament by a grant of £500 a year to his wife. In January, 1784, he was elected member of parliament for the city of London, and on the dissolution was re-elected. About the same period he was made a director of the Bank of England, and an alderman for Cordwainers ward. In 1785, he was sheriff of London and Middlesex and had the honor of being chairman of the committee of the House of Commons during the debate on the Regency bill. He was again elected to Parliament in 1790, but resigned his seat on being appointed commissary general to the army on the Continent, under the command of the Duke of York. In 1796 he retired from the service, and was elected lord mayor of London. During his term of office two serious events occurred, the sailors of the Royal Navy mutinied, and the Bank of England (of which he was a director) was restrained from making specie payments. In March 1798, he was commissioned commissary general of England, and in November 1803, in approbation of his public services he was created a baronet of the United Kingdom. The baronetcy was conferred on Watson, with remainder in default of male issue to his grand nephews William and Brook Kay, sons of his niece Anne Webber by her husband William Kay, of Montreal. These grand

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nephews were born in Montreal, William in 1777, and Brook in 1780. William succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his uncle in 1807, and died unmarried in 1850. He was succeeded by his brother Brook, who died in 1866, whose son Brook is the fourth baronet. He was born in 1820, is married but has no children. His half brother William is heir presumptive.

Brook Watson died at East Sheer, in Surrey, October 2, 1809, leaving no children, An obituary of him gives the following description of his character. "He was through life to his king and country a constitutional loyal subject; a diligent, faithful servant; a firm merciful and upright magistrate; to his wife a most affectionate and tender husband; to his relations a kind and tender friend, to his friendships consistent; in faith a firm Christian; in deeds a benevolent, honest man."

CLARENCE WARD.

The electric telegraph between the Maritime Provvinces and the United States was completed in the latter part of 1848, when the wires were stretched across the falls at St. John. The line was tested Dec. 29, 1848. The first message between St. John and Halifax was sent on Nov. 9, 1849.

The Intercolonial railway was opened from St. John to Halifax on Nov. 11, 1872. The opening of the northern division between Moncton and Campbellton was on Nov. 8, 1875.

There were hard times in St. John in the forties, and in some years the soup kitchen for the poor was a very necessary institution to prevent many of them from suffering with hunger.

The St. John Fire Department was disbanded in 1864, not in 1862, as was made to appear by an error in the July number of THE MAGAZINE.

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IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

WELCOMED AT THE START.

So many good things have been said of the initial number of THE MAGAZINE that it is out of the question to quote from the mass of favorable comments, or even to specify the sources from which they have come. The St. John press, in particular, has given a hearty welcome to the venture, the majority of the papers devoting editorials to the subject. The press throughout the province of New Brunswick has also had many good words, though why some other journals have not considered the venture worthy of attention is not quite clear. Copies of the first number were sent to all papers of any importance in the Maritime Provinces and to some outside of those limits, but as there is no object in giving away several dozens of an expensive publication it will hereafter be sent regularly only to such journals as give some evidence of wanting it.

In addition to the press notices, many encouraging words have come from subscribers, which have been all the more gratifying when accompanied by the amount of the subscription, from those who have remembered that the terms of THE MAGAZINE are payment in advance.

With the very best of motives, a number of the papers have drawn attention to the fact that several magazines have been started in the provinces in the past and have resulted in failure. This is the legitimate statement of a fact, and a similar statement has already been made by THE MAGAZINE itself, but with the important qualification that no magazine was ever

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conducted on the local lines laid down in this instance, the usual mistake having been in assuming that home writers on all kinds of theories and philosophies gave a publication a local coloring. There never has been a provincial magazine on the same lines of local information and with such a thoroughly competent corps of contributors, and therefore comparisons, when not duly qualified, are hardly fair to the present undertaking. That is to say, the public are apt to draw the inference that THE NEW BRUNSWICK will go the way of its predecessors. There are some small souls in every community to whom the risk of paying a dollar and a half and not getting twelve full numbers will overshadow every consideration of trying to aid and encourage an admittedly valuable publication, which has the high and honorable motive of trying to make the country and its history known, and of educating the people in matters of which many have heretofore had little or no knowledge. THE MAGAZINE is in the field to remain, however, and whoever may lose it will not be the subscribers who pay in advance.

A pleasing evidence of the abstract value of THE MAGAZINE from an historical point of view is found in the fact that subscriptions continue to come in from various parts of the United States, which are wholly apart from any personal influence of the publisher or his friends. These are from individuals who have no personal relations with the Maritime Provinces, but who recognize them as one of the most fertile sources of the history of the continent. In the same way the value of this publication is recognized by such institutions as the New York Public Library, Harvard College, the Boston Athenæum Library, the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, and the like, additions to the list being made every week. At a later date it is probable that a number of the institutions on the

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Canadian side of the line will be heard from in the same way.

The outlook for THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE during the first month of its existence has been very encouraging, especially in view of the fact that, apart from one canvasser in St. John and one for a short time in another part of the province, no systematic effort has been made to hasten what has been of itself a steady increase of circulation. If every man who is really interested in THE MAGAZINE would secure at least one of his friends as a subscriber, the problem of making the publication a success in all respects would be still more a simple one.

WITH THE CONTRIBUTORS.

The second paper on the early settlement of St. John, by Rev. W. O. Raymond, M. A., appears in this number, and will be found as important as his valuable contribution which appeared last month. Mr. Raymond is an investigator and writer who never slights his work, and the papers of this series are not only most interesting reading but have great value as matters of local history. It is for just such work as this—the bringing out of facts which have hitherto been unknown—that THE MAGAZINE is the available medium for publication in a suitable and permanent form.

A new contrlbutor this month is Dr. George Stewart, of Quebec. Dr. Stewart is so well known to most readers that an introduction of him is unnecessary. His early years were spent in St. John, and he started Stewart's Quarterly at an age when the country papers used to patronizingly refer to him as "our young friend Stewart." The Quarterly was the best magazine ever published in the Maritime Provinces, or in Canada, and it was an undoubted success, even though it did not

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bring money to the pocket of its projector. The fire of 1877 put him out of business in this city, but the same calamity was the source of inspiration for his first book, The Story of the Great Fire, a volume of nearly 300 pages written under great difficulties in the short space of a fortnight, yet wonderfully accurate in its historical information as well as in its account of the disaster itself. At a later date he went to Toronto, where he was editor of the Rose-Belford Canadian Monthly, and in 1877 he went to Quebec, where he held the position of chief editor of the Chronicle until 1896. He is now editor of the Quebec Mercury. Since the time of the Story of the Great Fire, he has written a number of books including Canada under Dufferin, besides a large number of essays and sketches for leading periodicals on both sides of the ocean. His work appears in the Encyclopedia Britannica and other publications in the same line, and a list of all his writings would make a very formidable array. He has the doctor's degree from no less than four universities, is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Royal Geographical Society of London, as well as an active member of various other learned societies. His paper this month is on a former magazine in New Brunswick, the Guardian, a publication which professed to have objects similar to those of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE, but which, it will be seen, did not confine itself to local subjects and had but a brief career.

Mr. James Hannay is not satisfied to allow Prof. Ganong's paper on the site of Fort LaTour to stand, without presenting his case for the site on the west side of the harbor. The arguments of both of these gentlemen will be of much interest to the students of Acadian history everywhere. Mr. Hannay has consented to give the readers of THE MAGAZINE an account of "the first families" of these provinces, the Acadians,

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and it need not be predicted that anything he does in this line will be worthy both of attention and preservation.

Mr. Clarence Ward, of St. John, is one of the new contributors this month. Mr. Ward, both by heredity and acquired knowledge, is an authority on the post-loyalist history of St. John. He is a grandson of Major John Ward, known as "The Father of the City," and a son of Mr. Charles Ward, who was a very prominent citizen. The present Mr. Ward is practically the archivist of St. John, and in a city more alive to its own historic importance he would be officially such with a salary worthy of his labors. For many years he has, as a labor of love, gathered historical and genealogical data from many sources and compiled it as far as his time has permitted. The penalty for this is that he is continually put to trouble by all sorts of people who ask questions which concern themselves and their ancestors more than they do the general history of the city. In this number of THE MAGAZINE Mr. Ward has an interesting paper on Brook Watson, and he gives much that is wholly new to the public in the history of that remarkable man who began his career as a friendless sailor boy and rose to be a baronet and lord mayor of London.

The story of the loss of the Royal Tar is one of a series of accounts of notable events in the history of St. John in the present century, which are to appear in THE MAGAZINE from time to time.

Papers of interest have been promised by Mr. H. A. Powell, M. P., of Sackville, N. B., and by Mr. J. E. B. McCready, editor of the Charlottetown, P. E. I., Guardian, and will appear at an early day.

Nova Scotia history will be given due attention by future contributors from time to come.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME?

The Maritime Merchant, that successful Halifax commercial journal, in the course of a kindly and appreciative notice, thinks that "the choice of a name for THE MAGAZINE is not particularly happy in view of its aims and scope." There have been other intimations to the same effect, but nobody has yet suggested a better title.

The choice of a comprehensive and not too cumbersome name for a magazine which aims to devote itself to all the Maritime Provinces is not an easy matter. The word "Acadian" readily suggests itself, with the argument that the field of the publication is the territory originally included in Acadia. Unfortunately for this idea, the country is not now Acadia, and the use of the term would be misleading and incorrect, unless the aim of the magazine were to deal wholly with the Acadian period or the Acadian race in the present era. The word "Provincial" would be better, were it not that it is used in a disparaging sense both in England and America, while the term "Maritime Provinces" is rather long and awkward, even though it is absolutely correct. As to the word "Maritime" of itself, we have entirely too much respect for the Queen's English to apply it to a publication not specially devoted to the sea and shipping. The fact that there has been a "Maritime Monthly" which had nothing to do with marine matters, or a "Maritime Farmer" which did not plough the sea, does not make the usage correct. This is not a reflection on the name of our critical Halifax contemporary, for everybody knows there is such an individual as a "Maritime Merchant." He is *en evidence* on most of the Nova Scotia schooners which lie in the Market slip at St. John, and he does an extensive business in apples, potatoes and other products

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of the soil. It may be, however, that in view of the aims and scope of a general commercial paper, the choice of such a name is not a happy one on the part of the journal in question.

The title of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE means that the magazine belongs to New Brunswick, but not that it is confined to that province. In the same way the Edinburgh Review, the London Times and the New York Herald have each the name of a locality in their titles, but we have yet to learn that their influence is circumscribed by that fact, or that they fail to represent any interests beyond those of the places in which they are published.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The story of the Acadians of today is one of a wonderful educational development among a people who, as a class, had been almost wholly neglected in this respect for nearly a century after the dispersion. This is especially true of the French race in the province of New Brunswick, the representatives of which are found today in increased proportion in the priesthood as well as in the higher secular vocations, on the bench, in the councils of the country, in the professions and in the realm of literature. Apart from the recognized representative men, the great body of the people have made a most remarkable progress as compared with their general condition only a generation ago. In this work of elevating a people, the great factor has been St. Joseph's college, Memramcook, and the man by whose wise judgment it was placed in a position to accomplish so much was the Rev. Camille Lefebvre, who was sent in response to a request by Bishop Sweeney, and who labored there for upwards of thirty years, dying in the year 1895. His memory is

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justly honored, not only by the Acadians but by all who are interested in the welfare of this country. His biographer is Hon. Pascal Poirier of Shediac, a member of the Senate of Canada, and himself a graduate of the college. Under the title of "Le Pere Lefebvre et L'Acadie," Senator Poirier has written the story of the man and his work, and has well accomplished his task. In a handsomely printed volume of over 300 pages, he deals with Father Lefebvre from his earliest days to his last hour, and describes the characteristics of his loved preceptor so faithfully and well that the book leaves nothing to be desired from the standpoint of biography alone. Apart from this it is the history of St. Joseph's college in its essential features, and it gives a clear idea not only of the growth and development of that institution but of the progress of the people for whose benefit it was designed. It is an important addition to the ecclesiastical, educational and racial history of the province. The book has already reached a third edition. The proceeds of its sale are devoted to the Lefebvre Memorial fund.

The Natural History Society of New Brunswick has just issued Bulletin XVI. The leading paper is a sketch by Prof. L. W. Bailey of the late Dr. James Robb, Prof. Bailey's predecessor in the chair of natural history at the University of N. B., and one of the pioneers in scientific labor in this province. It is accompanied by a portrait. S.W. Kain gives a catalogue of the earthquakes in New Brunswick. John Moser, the veteran botanist and the discoverer of many new species, gives a list of the mosses of the province. Dr. Geo. F. Matthew has an article on some recent discoveries in the St. John group of rocks, in which he describes some rare fossils and gives a sketch, illustrated by a map, of the geology of the Kennebecasis valley. This paper is not only of interest to local

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students but must command attention abroad. Prof. Ganong's contribution of ten "notes" is of unusual interest and full of suggestions for students. Dr. Philip Cox has a paper on the batrachians of New Brunswick, with notes on their distribution. The appendix contains a number of important items, among which may be mentioned a report on the work done at the Quaco camp last year; a bibliography of scientific papers on New Brunswick published during the year; the determination of mean sea level at St. John, by E. T. P. Shewen; a list of donations and the report of the council. There are also reports of the Natural History Societies at Fredericton and Sussex, the publication of which is an excellent idea. The Bulletin is printed by Barnes & Co., and is for sale by Alfred Morrisey, price 50 cents.

Mr. George Johnson, Dominion Statistician, undertook no light task in attempting to make his "Alphabet of First Things in Canada," the third edition of which has reached THE MAGAZINE. To name the first things is of itself an achievement of some note, while to trace their history and secure the data is a work of magnitude and difficulty. In many kinds of historical work a margin of uncertainty and speculation is allowable, but in an undertaking of this kind absolute accuracy must be the great essential. With each edition, Mr. Johnson probably sees not only what he has accomplished in comparison with the previous one, but much more that he wants to accomplish. The book as now presented is a most useful one to all who are interested in Canada and its affairs, and is literally "a ready reference book of Canadian events," which is of value to all classes of readers.

"Patriotic and Personal Poems, by Martin Butler," is a book remarkable for more than the subject-matter of the contents. Mr. Butler himself is a remarkable

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man, who has followed the pursuit of literature by the aid of a wonderful perseverance amid many difficulties. He has fought his way through life as a toiler for bread, with the great disadvantages of being poor and having only one arm. His occupation is that of a pedlar, going over the country with a hand waggon, seeing human nature in the remote districts and recounting his experiences in his unique monthly known as Butler's Journal, a paper which he both edits and prints with little or no assistance. The present book has been written, set up and folded by him, and it is issued, as he explains, "to help by its sale to provide food, fuel, raiment and shelter, for myself and family, which the meagre revenue derived from The Journal and my inability for hard labor, consequent on my crippled condition, render extremely difficult." The price of the book is 40 cents, and it may be had from the author at Fredericton. Mr. Butler's pluck and perseverance deserve to be rewarded by a large sale of his venture.

PROVINCIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following are a few additions of old and new books relating to the provinces, which are either not noted in the already published "New Brunswick Bibliography," or which are noted in that book and concerning which further information is given. It is hoped that readers of THE MAGAZINE generally will aid as contributors to this department from month to month. In the case of books which relate to New Brunswick, the notes sent should be in the line already named—new books or information about old ones and their authors. In respect to the other Maritime Provinces, of which there is no published bibliography, all

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information is of value, especially that relating to old and rare works.

In sending notes of books, please follow the style given below. Quote the name of the author as it is given on the title page, adding any other information as to his personality and work. Copy the title page itself, with date, describe binding in brief form, state the size as near as may be, whether quarto, octavo, etc., large or small, give the number of pages and mention maps of illustrations. To this necessary description may be appended any further facts as to the character of the book and its relation to the Maritime Provinces.

DUNCAN FRANCIS, M.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Member of the Colonies Committee, Society of Arts; D.C.L., King's College, N. S., Lieutenant Royal Artillery.

Our Garrisons in the West, or Sketches in British North America, London, Chapman and Hall, 193 Piccadilly, 1864. Cl., 8°, pp. viii—319. Map.

This is a decidedly interesting book to readers in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which provinces receive attention in about 160 pages. The writer was with the troops sent out at the time of the Trent affair, in 1861–62, and he gives a most entertaining account of the country and its people. St. John and Halifax are given considerable notice, and the criticisms are in a kindly spirit, though characterized by abundant humor. S. W. K.

OWEN, W. F. W., (See p. 62, July.)

His autobiography is not a separate work, but is contained in his Quoddy Hermit.

See Coll. N. B. Hist. Soc., article The Journal of Captain Wm. Owen—the 27th page of the article (p. 27 of the reprint.) W. F. G.

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POIRIER, HON. PASCAL, M. A., Senator, of Shediac, N. B. Is well known as a legislator and a writer on Acadian topics. He has been an industrious conbutor to the French Canadian press, and is the author of L'Origine des Acadiens, etc.

Le Pere Lefebvre et L'Acadie. Montreal, C. O. Beauchemin & Fils, 1898. Paper, Large 8°, pp. x—311. Portraits and illustrations.

BUTLER, MARTIN, Fredericton. (Vide MacFarlane's Bibliography.)

Patriotic and Personal Poems. Fredericton, N. B., printed at the Journal Office, 1898. Paper, Sm. 8°, pp. 147.

(A remarkable feature of this book is that it was written, set up in type, folded and printed by a man with one arm.)

WILLIS, N. P., the American poet and essayist.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. From Drawings by W. H. Bartlett. The Literary Department by N. P. Willis, Esq. London, James S. Virtue. No date. (1842) 2 vols., 4°, pp. 244 in all. Richly illustrated.

This work has some 120 steel plate engravings of Canadian scenery, from special drawings, and is beautifully printed. Of these views, 20 pertain to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, with 23 pages of letterpress devoted to these provinces. The work is a companion to "American Scenery," also by Willis and Bartlett and published by Virtue. W. K. R.

THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE is sent free of postage to subscribers in Canada, the United States and Newfoundland. When mailed to subscribers in Great Britain and other postal union countries, there is an additional charge of 36 cents a year for postage.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

QUESTIONS.

7. In the MS. notes of a lecture delivered at the Mechanics Institute in 1841 by Moses H. Perley, occurs this sentence:—"Mention the skeletons at Portland Point." Is there any contemporary record of the finding of these skeletons, or does any person now living remember it? W. F. G.

8. Who can tell about what were called the "Black Refugees," who came to St. John about the year 1835 or a little earlier? C. J. L.

9. In what year was the trial, in Halifax, of Lieut. Cross, of the British army, on a charge of murder?

10. What is the meaning of the word Malagash?"

11. From what does the parish of Queensbury derive its name?

12. In what year was the elder Booth in St. John?

ANSWERS.

3. The name Souris (French, *Souris*—mouse), is connected with a plague of mice. Diereville, the traveler, writing in the early part of the seventeenth century, affirmed that the island had a plague of mice or locusts every seven years, a statement that, whether needing confirmation or not, has long since ceased to be applicable to the province. In April and May of 1815, when the warm air loosened the frost, we read that the earth sent forth mice instead of flowers, mice that were large and savage, almost resembling rats, and, some say, white in color. They increased at an alarming rate, until, in August they were as thick as grasshoppers, and destroyed everything eatable that was not carefully

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protected. Grain, vegetables and shrubs alike disappeared before their ravages, until the fields were as bare as a board. "At last the mice began to die for want of food. Fields were covered with them, and the air was full of a sickening odor. In many parts they moved to the sea coast In vast numbers, as there was an abundance of shell fish there. When they had devoured all the shell fish they could find, they died there, and the tide swept them away or piled them in 'windrows' on the beach." In the Bay of Fortune, Rollo Bay and Souris section of the island there was at the time quite a large French population, and as they suffered in an especially severe manner from the plague, which, however, was general throughout the province, they, no doubt, commemorated it in the way above suggested. That, at least, is the opinion of the people of today. S. M. B.

(The year of the mice is referred to in Paterson's History of Pictou County, p. 293 et seq., and an account of it is given in the various editions of the Intercolonial Railway Guide Book, which have appeared from time to time since 1883. The latter account has been very freely appropriated by wandering scribes, and I have even seen it used bodily by the staff correspondent of a New Brunswick weekly as his own version of the story. In "Zig-Zag Journeys in Acadia," by one Hezekiah Butterworth, the same account has been ingeniously rewritten, but without a sufficient knowledge of the snbject to avoid copying some errors, as well as falling into new and absurd blunders. For instance, he speaks of the French traveller Diereville as a local historian, or something of that kind, and *quotes* him as saying "Prince Edward Island has a plague," etc. Direville wrote in 1699–1700, a century before the name of "Prince Edward" was thought of, for what was then "L'Isle St. Jean." W. K. R.)

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6. "The Three Lamps" at Reed's Point were made by the late Alexander Campbell, of Water street, gas fitter and tinsmith, and were erected in the spring of 1848, by the St. John Gas Company. A. G. B.

The date was April, 1848. The *lamp* at Reed's Point dates further back, however, for it was placed in position in April, 1842, before the era of gas. The first lamp placed by the Gas Company at the Point was erected in February, 1847. The height of the post was about six feet. The lamp was four sided, had three burners and was in a copper frame. The side to the seaward was of stained glass, and on the four sides were painted the four pilot boats of that time—the Rechab, Cygnet, Grace Darling and Charles Stewart. The structure was surmounted by a vane. It was considered a great affair for those days, and was the guide for vessels entering the harbor until the three lamps were put up in 1848. W. K. R.

THE BUSINESS END.

The terms of subscription are $1.50 per annum in advance. Subscribers will oblige by not waiting for a bill to be sent.

A number of subscribers have expressed their regret that THE MAGAZINE is not to be sold through the medium of the newsdealers. There was a good reason for such an announcement in the prospectus. The usual way in which dealers handle periodicals is on commission. That is, they order a certain number, charge the publisher a certain percentage on the copies sold and have the privilege of returning all copies that are unsold. In this way it is necessary to print more than the edition really required in order to keep the dealers supplied, and when they make their returns many copies may be sent back unsold. With some

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classes of publications this is well enough, but it is quite different with THE MAGAZINE. The margin of profit is small at best, and to over-print every month means not only no profit but actual loss. The Magazine does not depend upon pictures or sensational matter for its sale, but it caters to a class of people who want it regularly, if they want it at all. It is believed that people of this class will be willing to subscribe, and it is felt that, as a rule, such people are able to subscribe. Where they really want THE MAGAZINE and are not able to pay in advance such exceptional cases will receive every consideration. It would be a poor encouragement to the publisher if he had to print the greater part of his monthly edition on the mere chance of selling it by single numbers, and he has too good an opinion of the public to think they would want him to do so. Under the most favorable circumstances, the venture is one with little profit, and even small matters must be considered in respect to the expenses. There is, however, no reason why people who want single copies cannot have them. They will be supplied to any dealer who orders them for his customers, he purchasing without the privilege of returning unsold copies, or they will be sent to any address from the office of publication on receipt of fifteen cents in silver for each copy. The edition, however, will be kept pretty closely to the subscription limit, so that no large number of single copies will be available. A limited number of copies of the early issues will be reserved for those who subscribe later and wish to have the volume complete.

Agents are needed to advance the circulation of THE MAGAZINE in all parts of the Maritime Provinces. This is a publication for which school teachers, students and others may canvass with great success.

Some readers have expressed the opinion that the

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typographical appearance of THE MAGAZINE would be better, or at least that the reading of some portions of the pages would be easier, if a larger type were used for matter quoted in the form of extracts. The type now used is nonpareil, which looks to be even smaller than it is, by reason of the contrast with the long primer which is used for the body type. With a view of obviating all objection on this point, an order for a quantity of brevier type was placed early in the month, and it was expected to reach here in time for this issue. As the type was among a lot being landed in Toronto from Scotland, there was a delay not anticipated, so that, after waiting several days, THE MAGAZINE was made up without it. This accounts for the slight lateness in the time of appearance, the aim being to reach the public a little before the first of the month in which THE MAGAZINE is dated. The new type has now arrived, however, and will be used in future issues in place of the nonpareil.

THE MAGAZINE should circulate in every part of the Maritime Provinces, and there is room for agents in various sections. While the margin allowed is not large, it is sufficient to reimburse one who can devote some of his spare time to pushing the publication in the place where he resides, besides giving him the satisfaction which comes from the consciousness of doing work that is helping to instruct the people in a knowledge of their own country.

Contributors should bear in mind that it is desirable to have manuscript in hand as early as they can conveniently send it. It should be in by at least the 10th of the month and in no case later than the 20th. The later it is left, the more hurriedly it is necessary to get it in type, and haste in such cases may mean errors of typography, etc., which are annoying alike to the contributor and the publisher.

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SEPTEMBER, 1898.

The New Brunswick Magazine

VOL. I. No. 3.

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HARVARD COLLEGE L G
AUG 29 1898
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The New Brunswick Magazine.

VOL. I. SEPTEMBER, 1898. NO. 3

OUR FIRST FAMILIES.

First Paper.

There is no denying the fact that in point of antiquity the French Acadians of the Maritime Provinces ante-date all the inhabitants of British origin. They are our "first families," and are entitled to whatever consideration naturally attaches to that distinction. They occupy the same position with regard to this land that the descendants of the Pilgrims of the Mayflower hold to the people of New England, or the first Dutch settlers of New York to the present inhabitants of that state. They have been here for more than two hundred and sixty years, and during that time they have clung tenaciously to the soil of their beloved Acadia, that land of forest and stream to which their fathers came so long ago, and in whose soil ten generations of their race are buried.

The first French census of Acadia was taken in 1671, the year after the restoration of that colony to France under the terms of the treaty of Breda. It was drawn up by Laurent Molin, a grey friar, who was performing the functions of a curé at Port Royal, and was forwarded to the French government by the

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Chevalier de Grand-fontaine, who was then governor of Acadia. Grand-fontaine, in his letter to the ministry, complains of this grey friar, who seems to have been a person of remarkable energy of character, for he is accused of having caused an Indian to be hanged without any trial, killed a negro and banished three inhabitants. The census, which I propose shall serve as a text for this article, is as follows:—

PORT ROYAL.

Jacob Bourgeois, surgeon, 50; wife Jeanne Trahan; children—Jeanne 27, Charles 25, Germain 21, Marie 19, William 16, Margaret 13, François 12, Anne 10, Marie 7, Jeanne 4; b. c. 33, br. 24, ar. v. 5.

Jean Gaudet, 96; wife Nicolle Colleson; children—Jean 28; b. c. 6, br. 3, ar. v., 3.

Denis Gaudet 46; wife Martine Gauthier; children—Anne 25, Marie 21, Pierre 20, Pierre 17, Marie 14; b. c. 9, br. 13, ar. v. 6.

Roger Kuessy 25; wife Marie Poirié; children Marie 2; b. c. 3, br. 2.

Michel deForest 33; wife Marie Hébert; children—Michael 4, Pierre 2, René 1; b. c. 12, br. 2, ar. v. 2.

Widow Stephen Hébert 38; children—Marie 20, Margaret 19, Emmanuel 18, Stephen 17, Jean 13, Françoise 10, Catherine 9, Martin 6, Michael 5, Antoine 1; b. c. 4, br. 5, ar. v. 3.

Antoine Babin 45; wife Marie Merciér; children—Marie 9, Charles 7, Vincent 5, Jeanne 3, Margaret 1; b. c. 6, br. 8, ar. v. 2.

Oliver Daigre 28; wife Marie Gaudet; children—Jean 4, Jacques 2, Bernard 1; b. c. 6, br. 6. ar. v. 2.

Antoine Hébert, cooper, 50; wife Geneviève Lefrance; children—Jean 22, Jean 18, Catherine 15; b. c. 18, br. 7, ar. v. 6.

Jean Blanchard 60; wife Radegonde Lambert; children—Martin 24, Madeline 28, Anne 26, William 21, Bernard 18, Marie 15; b. c. 12, br. 9, ar. v. 5.

Widow François Aucoin 26; children—Anne 12, Marie 9, Jérôme 7, Huguette 5, François 2; b. c. 6, br. 3. ar. v. 6.

Michel Dupeux 37; wife Marie Gauterot; children—Marie 14, Martin 6, Jeanne 4, Pierre 3, b. c. 5, br. 1, ar. v. 6.

Claude Terriau 34; wife Marie Gauterot; children—Germain 9, Marie 6, Margaret 4, Jean 1; b. c. 13, br. 3, ar. v. 6.

Germain Terriau 25; wife Andrée Brun; children—Germain 2, b. c. 5; br. 2, ar. v. 2.

Jean Terriau 70; wife Perrine Beau, children Claude 34, Jean 32, Bonaventure 30, Germain 25, Jeanne 27, Catherine 21, Pierre 16; b. c. 6, br. 1, ar. v. 5.

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François Scavoye 50; wife Catherine Lejeune; children—Françoise 18, Germain 17, Marie 14, Jeanne 13, Catherine 9, François 8, Barnabé 6, Andrée 4, Marie 2; b. c. 4, ar. v. 6.

Jehan Corperon 25; wife Françoise Scavoie; child—one girl of six weeks; b. c. 1, br. 1.

Pierre Martin 70; wife Catherine Vigneau; children—Pierre 45, Marie 35, Margaret 32, André 30, Matthew 35; b. c. 7, br. 8, ar. v. 2.

François Pélerin 35; wife Andrée Martin; children—Hugette 5, Marie 2 and one little infant of a few days; br. 1, ar. v. 1.

Pierre Morrin 37; children—Pierre 9, Louis 7, Antoine 5, Marie 3, Anne 10 months; b. c. 3, br. 4, ar. v. 1.

Mathieu Martin 35, not married and a weaver; b. c. 4, br. 3.

Vincent Brun 60; wife Renée Brode; children—Madeline 25, Andrée 24, François 18, Bastie 15, Marie 12; b. c. 10, br. 4, ar. v. 5.

François Gauterot 58; Edmée Lejeaune; children—Marie 35, Charles 34, Marie 24, René 19, Margaret 16, Jean 23, François 19, Claude 12, Charles 10, Jeanne 7, Germain 3; b. c. 16, br. 6, ar. v. 6.

William Trahan, farrier, 60; wife Madeline Brun; children—William 4, Jehan-Charles 3, Alexander 1; b. c. 8, br. 10. ar. v. 5.

Pierre Sire, armorer, 27; wife Marie Bourgeois; children—Jean 3 months; b. c. 11, br. 6.

Pierre Thibeaudeau 40; wife Jeanne Terriau; children—Pierre 1 and five girls; b. c. 12, br. 11, ar. v. 7.

Claude Petipas 45; wife Catherine Bugard; children—Bernard 12, Claude 8, Jean 7, Jacques 5 and three girls; b. c. 26, br. 11, ar. v. 30.

Bernard Bourc 23; wife Françoise Brun; child—one girl; b. c. 6, br. 2.

Bonaventure Tériau; wife Jean Boudrot; child—one girl; b. c. 6, br. 6, ar. v. 2.

Michael Boudrot 71; wife Michelle Aucoin; children—François 29, Charles 22, Jean 16, Abraham 14, Oliver 10, Claude 8, François 5, four girls; b. c. 5, br. 12, ar. v. 8.

Pierre Guillebau 32; wife Catherine Tériau; child—one girl; b. c. 6, br. 5, ar. v. 15.

Jean Labathe 33; wife Renée Gautherot; b. c. 26, br. 15, ar. v. 15.

Martin Blanchart 24; wife Françoise Leblond, b. c. 5, br. 2, ar. v. 15.

Jean Bourc 25; wife Margaret Martin; children—two girls; b. c. 3, br. 5, ar. v. 15.

Antoine Bourc 62; wife Antoinette Landry; children—François 27, Jean 24, Bernard 22, Martin 21, Abraham 9 and 6 daughters b. c. 12, br. 8, ar. v. 4.

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Laurent Grangé 34; wife Marie Landry; children—Peter 9 months and one girl; b. c. 5, br. 6, ar. v. 4.

Perrine Landry, widow of Jacques Joffriau, 60.

Pierre Doucet, mason, 50; wife Henriette Peltret; children—Toussaint 8, Jean 6, Pierre 4, and two girls; b. c. 7, br. 6, ar. v. 4.

François Bourc 25; wife Margaret Boudrot; children—Michel 5 and one girl; b. c. 15, br. 5, ar. v. 5

Germain Doucet 30; wife Marie Landry; children—Charles 6, Bernard 4, Laurent 3; b. c. 11, br. 7, ar. v. 3.

François Girouard 50; wife Jeanne Aucoin; children—Jacob 23, Germain 14 and three girls; b. c. 16, br. 12, ar. v. 8.

Jacques Belou, cooper, 30; wife Marie Girouard; child—one girl; b. c. 7, br. 1.

Jacob Girouard 23; wife Margaret Gauterot; child—Alexandre; b. c. 7, br. 3.

Pierre Vincent 40; wife Annie Gaudet; children—Thomas 6, Michael 3, Pierre 2 and one girl; b. c. 18, br. 9, ar. v. 16.

Pierre Martin 40; wife Anne Oxihnoroudh; children—Pierre 10, René 8, André 5, Jacques 2, b. c. 11, br. 6, ar. v. 8.

Vincent Brot 40; wife Marie Bour; children—Antoine 5, Pierre 1 and two girls; b. c. 9, br. 7, ar. v. 4.

Daniel Lebland 45; wife Françoise Gaudet; children—James 20, Stephen 15, René 14, André 12, Antoine 9, Pierre 7 and one girl; b. c. 17, br. 26, ar. v. 10.

Michel Poirie 20; b. c. 2.

Barbe Baiols, widow deSavinien de Courpon; eight children in France and two girls married in this place; b. c. 1, br. 5.

Antoine Gougeon 45; wife Jeanne Chebrat; child—one girl; b. c. 20, br. 17, ar. v. 10.

Pierre Commeaux, cooper. 75; wife Rose Bayols; children—Stephen 21, Pierre 18, Jean 14, Pierre 13, Antoine 10, Jean 6 and three girls; b. c. 16. br. 22, ar. v. 6.

Jean Pitre, edge tool maker, 35; wife Marie Bayols; children—Claude 9 months and two girls; b. c. 1.

Stephen Commeaux 21; wife Marie Lefebvre; child—one girl; b. c. 7, br. 7.

Charles Bourgeois 25; wife Anne Dugast; child—one girl; b. c. 12, br. 7. ar. v. 2.

Barnabé Martin 35; wife Jeanne Pelletrat; children—René 8 months and one girl; b. c. 3, br. 2, ar. v. 2½

Clément Bertrand, carpenter, 50; wife Huguette Lambelot; b. c. 10, br. 6, ar. v. 6.

Antoine Bellineau 50; wife Andrée Guion; children—Jean 19 and one girl; b. c. 11, br. 8.

René Landry 53; wife Perrine Bour; children—Pierre 13, Claude 8 and five girls; b. c. 10, br. 6 ar. v. 12.

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Thomas Cormié, carpenter, 35; wife Madeline Girouard; child—one girl; b. c. 7, br. 7, ar. v. 6.

René Rimbaut 55; wife Anne Marie; children—Philippe 16, François 15 and three girls; b. c. 12, br. 9, ar. v. 12.

Abraham Dugast, armorer, 55; wife ——— Doucet; children—Claude 19, Martin 15, Abraham 10 and five girls; b. c. 19, br. 3. ar. v. 16.

Michel Richard 41; wife Madeline Blanchart; children—René 14, Pierre 10, Martin 6, Alexandre 3 and three girls; b. c. 15, br. 14, ar. v. 14.

Charles Melanson 28; wife Marie Dugast; children—four girls; b. c. 40, br. 6, ar. v. 20.

Pierre Melanson, tailor, refused to answer.

Stephen Robichaut told his wife that he would not give an account of his cattle and land.

Pierre Lanaux or Lanoue, cooper, answered that he was well off and did not wish to give his age.

HABITATION OF POBONCOM NEAR THE ISLES TOUSQUET.

Philip Mius-ecuyer-Sieur de Lamdremont ou de Dantremont 62; wife Madeline Elie; children—Abraham 13, Philip 11, one other 17 and two girls; b. c. 26, br. 25, ar. v. 6.

CAP NEIGRE.

Armand Lalloue, ecayer sieur de, 58; wife Elisabeth Nicolas; children—James 24, Armand 14, Arnault 12 and two girls; ar. v. 1.

RIVER AUX ROCHELOIS.

William Paulet, his wife and one child; ar. v. 2

Before proceeding to discuss the individuals and families named in this census, it will be proper to explain the meaning of the letters and figures which close the record of each family. The letters b. c. signify "bêtes a cornes" (horned cattle); br. is the abbreviation for "brebis" (sheep) while ar. v. stands for "arpents de terre en valeur" (arpents of cultivated land). Thus it appears that Jacob Bourgeois, whose name stands first on the list, had 33 horned cattle, 24 sheep and 5 arpents of cultivated land. In the whole Port Royal settlement there were 580 horned cattle, 406 sheep and 363½ arpents of cultivated land. An arpent is about the equivalent of an acre. It is plain, therefore, that the area of cultivated land embraced in the census could not have included land in meadow or in pasture, but only the land actually tilled the year the census was

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taken. We can gather from these figures some idea of the mode of life of the Acadians of those days. Their cattle and sheep were their main resource, and the wealth of each individual can be measured by the number of his live stock. Tried by this test the rich men of the settlement at Port Royal were Jacob Bourgeois, Antoine Hébert, François Gauterat, Claude Petitpas, Jean Labathe, François Bourc, François Girouard, Pierre Vincent, Daniel Lebland, Antoine Gougeon, Pierre Commeaux, Abraham Dugast, Michel Richard, and Charles Melanson. The last named had 40 head of cattle and cultivated 20 arpents of land. Only one man in the Port Royal settlements cultivated more land than Melanson. This was Claude Petitpas, who tilled 30 arpents, but had fewer cattle.

There is one peculiarity about this census which seems to have escaped the notice of M. Rameau and others who have quoted it, the fact that the names of a large number of persons, thirty-six in all, are given twice. Take for instance the family of Jean Terriau, which is given in the census as numbering nine persons, including the father and mother, five sons and two daughters. As a matter of fact there were only four persons in the family at home, for both the daughters and three of the sons, Claude, Bonaventure and Germain, were married and had homes of their own. The failure to note this fact has caused M. Rameau and others to give the population of the Port Royal settlement as 361 when it was in reality 36 less, owing to the duplication of names. The matter is not of very great consequence, except for the purpose of showing the extremely cursory fashion in which this census has been dealt with, so that the way seems to be open for a more careful analysis of it than it has yet received.

It is very much to be regretted that Laurent Molin, the grey friar who took the census, did not

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carry it out on the same scale as he began it. In the enumeration of the first twenty-two families we have the names of the girls as well as of the boys, but as to the remainder only the names of the boys are given. This makes it more difficult to trace family connexions due to marriages, but perhaps we ought to be grateful to M. Molin that he has given us so much, rather than critical because he has omitted something we would have liked to obtain. As it is, we have the materials for, in a manner, reconstructing the story of the first settlement of Acadia, and determining with almost absolute certainty which were in reality our first families.

The first settlement of Acadia was made by De Monts and Champlain at St. Croix Island in 1604. This place was abandoned in 1605, and the colony established on the north side of Annapolis Basin, opposite Goat Island. This settlement was broken up by Argal in 1613 and we have no authentic information in regard to it for many years. It is said that Biencourt, who was the proprietor of Port Royal, and Charles La Tour, his lieutenant and companion, lived among the Indians for several years, trading, and that the settlement was abandoned. This theory is supported by the fact that a Scotch colony was established there by Sir William Alexander in 1628. This colony was in its turn broken up in 1632, when the French secured possession of Acadia under the terms of the treaty of St. Germain en-Laye. Most historians state that one or more of the Scotch families of this abandoned colony remained in Acadia and joined the French colony which was established by Commander Isaac de Razilly at La Have. La Mothe Cadillac speaks of one Scotch family having remained in Acadia, and says that in 1685, he saw at Port Royal two men of this family who had become Catholics and married French wives. Their

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mother had retired to Boston where she was then living, aged 90 years. M. Richard, author of a recently published book on Acadia and its people, speaks of three families of Scotch origin, the Colsons, Paisleys and Melansons. Other authorities mention the families of Martin and Vincent as being of Scotch origin. A book published in London in 1758, which is quoted by Murdoch, states that the Carty family in Acadia are descended from Roger John Baptist Carty, an Irish Catholic; and that Peters, an iron smith, from England, and Granger, also an Englishman, both married in Acadia and became naturalized Frenchmen. We will look more particularly at these statements later.

The colonists who were brought out by de Razilly and settled at La Have seem to have arrived in 1635, perhaps a year earlier. They were certainly not in Acadia as early as the break up of the Scotch colony, so that any of the latter who remained in Acadia must have lived for a time among the persons who formed the military portion of de Razilly's expedition. That, however, is a minor matter; the question is, who were the Scotch colonists, if any, who remained in Acadia? The first name on the census list which attracts attention is that of Pierre Martin, aged 70. Martin is undoubtedly a Scotch name, and the Martin family is almost the only one that would answer the description of Cadillac which we have already quoted. Moreover, Mathieu Martin, whose name appears in the census of 1671, and who was then 35 years old, is stated to have been the first white person born in Acadia. He was probably born in 1635, so that we have a date to start with which fixes the year of the establishment of the La Have settlement and gives the name of at least one first family, the Martins. We could easily assume that this was the family that Cadillac refers to as being Scotch, were it not for the fact that Catherine Vigneau,

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the wife of Pierre Martin, must have been a French woman. Catherine Vigneau may, however, have been a second wife, for the oldest son of the family is Pierre, jr., who is put down as aged 45, while the next child is ten years younger. On the other hand, why should Catherine Vigneau, a French woman, go to live in Boston where there were no French people, while her sons were residing in Acadia. It must be confessed that there are some difficulties in the way of accepting the Martins as Scotch, yet the probabilities are that they were.

The Melansons, whom M. Richard mentions as Scotch, may have been the two men referred to by Cadillac. Charles Melanson, in 1671, was 28 years old, and was therefore born in 1642. He was married to Marie Dugast, by whom he had four daughters. Judging by the number of his cattle and the area of land he cultivated, he was the richest man in the Port Royal settlement. His brother, Pierre Melanson, who was a tailor, refused to answer the questions put to him by M. Molin. But in 1686, when the next census of Acadia was taken by M. de Meulles, he had to respond, and we know that in 1671 he was 38 years old, that in 1665 he had been married to Marie Mius d'Antremont, a daughter of Phillippe Mius of Pubnico, whose name appears in the census of 1671, and that Melanson and his wife had then three or four children ; they had nine in 1686. Now neither of the parents of these men appears in the census of 1671, so that their father may then have been dead and their mother residing in Boston. The father of the Melansons, under the title of La Verdure, was a witness to the marriage contract made between LaTour and Madame d'Aulnay in 1653. He was also one of the parties to the capitulation of Port Royal to the English in 1654, signing that document "as well in his quality of Capt. Commandant in

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Port Royal for the King, as that of surrogate tutor of the minor children of the defunct Monsieur d'Aulnay." M. Jacques Bourgeois, who is described as LaVerdure's brother-in-law, was left with the English as a hostage for the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty. This brings us to the point that if La Verdure or Melanson was Scotch he must either have married a Frenchwoman, a sister ot M. Bourgeois, or the latter must have married a Melanson, La Verdure's sister. The last mentioned supposition is the more probable if this wife returned to Boston after her husband's death. This theory is further supported by the consideration that Pierre Melanson, her oldest son, must have been born as early as 1632, and could not therefore have been born in Acadia, if the statement in regard to Mathieu Martin is correct. On the other hand, there is the difficulty that the Scotch colony was broken up in 1632. Perhaps it is not necessary to take the statement in regard to Mathieu Martin being the first white child born in Acadia too literally. He was probably the first child born of French parents in Acadia, for surely there must have been some children born in the Scotch colony during the three or four years of its existence.

The two other names, Paisley and Colson, mentioned by M. Richard as being Scotch, do not appear in the census of 1671 among the heads of families in Acadia. We have, however, in the census of 1671 Nicolle Colleson, the wife of Jean Gaudet, and she may have been a Scotch woman, and a member of a family left in Acadia after the departure of Sir Wm. Alexander's colony. Colson and Colleson are so nearly alike that the one might be easily mistaken for the other, and neither is French. Indeed names like Colson, Melanson and others terminating in "son" bear in themselves unmistakable evidences of their British or

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Scandanavian origin. The name Colson appears in the census of Port Royal in 1686, but it does not occur in any subsequent census.

The statement made in a book, which we have already referred to, in regard to Granger and Peters being the names of Englishmen who settled in Acadia, is corroborated by the census of 1671. Jean Pitre or Peters, edge tool maker, is among the heads of families named. He was then 35 years old and was married to Marie Bayols. He had then three children all young. Laurent Grangé or Granger was 34 years old and was married to Marie Landry. They had two young children. Peters and Granger were probably married in 1667, about the time when it become evident that Acadia was to be restored to France. They were doubtless in the employment of Sir Thomas Temple, who was, with LaTour and Crowne, a grantee of a large portion of Acadia, and who was engaged in developing its resources for ten years or more, up to the time of the treaty of Breda. Most readers of this article will probably agree with me in thinking that the ancestors of the Granger and Pitre families in Acadia were English, and that the Martins and Melansons are probably of Scotch origin. In another paper I shall proceed to deal with these names of Acadians which are certainly French. JAMES HANNAY.

When the different troops were in St. John, sham fights, in which they and the militia took part, furnished great entertainment for the people. One of these memorable occasions was on Nov. 12, 1839, when the scene of conflict was in the vicinity of Fort Howe and Portland Bridge. The contestants were the 59th regiment of foot, under command of Major Brookes, and the militia of the city and county under Lieut.-Colonel Thomas W. Peters.

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AT PORTLAND POINT.

Third Paper.

The circumstances under which James Simonds and Wm. Hazen formed a company, early in the year 1764, for carrying on at St. John what was rightly deemed quite an extensive business for those times, have been already described in this series of papers. In the course of the first two years the character of the original company was essentially altered by the death of Richard Simonds, the retirement of Samuel Blodget and Robert Peaslie, and the admission of Leonard Jarvis as a new partner. Questions also arose with regard to the rights of the several partners in the lands that had been granted in 1765 to James Simonds, James White and Richard Simonds. In order to settle these questions a new business contract was drawn up at Newburyport, April 16, 1767,* and signed by William Hazen, Leonard Jarvis and James Simonds. Under this contract, Hazen and Jarvis were to have one half of the business, James Simonds one third, and James White one sixth, and all the lands at St. John (no matter to whom originally granted) together with all lands that might be granted during the continuance of the partnership, were to be put into the common stock and divided in the following proportions, viz., one half to Hazen and Jarvis, one third to Simonds and one sixth to White.

The new contract was signed by James Simonds, as he tells us, with extreme reluctance and almost under compulsion, but Hazen and Jarvis declined to furnish any further supplies for the trade unless their

*See New Brunswick Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. I., p. 191.

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right to one half the lands was conceded. James White was at St. John when the second contract was agreed to by the other partners, and he declined to sign it on the following grounds, viz.:—

"That having one fourth part of the duties, trouble and services to undergo and perform in transacting the business of the Copartnership, yet he was by the said Contract entitled to one sixth part only of the lands to be divided under the Contract. But that, although he disliked as aforesaid his having no greater share than one sixth part in the Concern, he nevertheless joined with James Simonds in carrying on the business in full confidence that some equitable allowance would be made to him for his services over and above his proportion of the said profits and lands."

The question of the division of the lands was afterwards the source of much controversy, ending in legal proceedings which, in one form or another, were prolonged for a period of twenty years. The history of the proceedings will be found in part in the records of the Court of Chancery preserved at Fredericton. The first "Bill of Complaint" of Hazen & Jarvis against James Simonds was filed by Ward Chipman, their attorney, July 19, 1791. It is a formidable parchment containing some 12,000 words. The "Cross Bill" of Simonds against Hazen & Jarvis was filed by Elias Hardy, attorney to Simonds, Nov. 17, 1794. It is written on large sheets of paper, attached to each other so as to form a continuous roll 20 feet 6 inches long and 20 inches in width, containing about 17,000 words. To this Ward Chipman responded with an answer on behalf of his clients of 19,600 words.

The law student will find much information in these documents concerning the mode of procedure then in vogue, and will form a high estimate of the abilities and industry of Chipman and Hardy, men who, in their day and generation, were giants in their profession.

In carrying on their business at St. John, Messrs. Simonds and White found their task no light one. So many and so diverse were the interests involved that it

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was an exceedingly difficult matter to attend to them all. At one time the fishery claimed special attention, at another the Indian trade; at one time the dyking and improving of the marsh, at another the erection of a mill or the building of a schooner; at one time the manufacture of lime, at another the building of a wharf or the erection of a store house; at one time supplying the garrison at Fort Frederick, at another bartering with the white inhabitants of the country; at one time building houses for themselves or their tenants, at another laying out roads and clearing lands. In addition to their private business, each of the partners had his public duties to perform—Mr. Simonds as a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, a magistrate and judge of probate, and Mr. White as sheriff, superintendent of Indian affairs and collector of customs.

James White was the junior of his colleague by several years. He was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, about the year 1738, and was a lineal descendant of the Worshipful William White, one of the well known founders of Haverhill. His grandfather, John White, a grandson of the "Worshipful William," was also grandfather of William Hazen on the mother's side. In early manhood Mr. White held a commission as ensign in a regiment of foot, and on his retirement from active military service entered the employ of Tailer & Blodget, merchants of Boston, for whom he acted as agent in furnishing supplies to the garrisons at Fort George and Crown Point from September 1761 to July 1763. After this he was in Mr. Blodget's employ at Haverhill, New Salem and Bradford, until he came to St. John in April, 1764. The statement made by Moses Perley in his well known lecture on the early history of New Brunswick, and repeated by the late Joseph W. Lawrence in "Foot Prints," that James

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White came to St. John in 1762, is therefore a mistake.

Occasional glimpses are afforded, in the letters written by James Simonds to his partners in New England of many privations endured in the early days of the settlement at St. John. For example, on Sept. 23, 1764, Mr. Simonds wrote to Blodget and Hazen.

"I hope if I sacrifice my interest, ease, pleasure of Good Company, and run the risque even of life itself for the benefit of the Company, those of them who live where their circumstances are every way the reverse will in return be so good as to take a little pains to dispose of all effects remitted to the best advantage."

Again on May 27, 1765, Mr. Simonds wrote to Hazen and Jarvis.

"I thank you for the willingness you express to relieve me and that you think there is any difficulty to go through in these parts . . . and I am obliged to you for sending some furniture for truly none was ever more barely furnished than we were before. Gentility is out of the question."

Communication with New England in those days was slow and uncertain, and sometimes the non-arrival of a vessel, when provisions and supplies were at a low ebb, caused a good deal of grumbling on the part of the hands employed. This was particularly the case if their supply of rum had chanced to run out. On one occasion we find Mr. Simonds writing, "The men are in low spirits having nothing to eat but pork and bread and nothing but water to drink. Knowing this much I trust you will lose no time in sending to our relief."

For several years after the white inhabitants had effected a permanent settlement on the river, they were liable at any time to be reduced to distress in the event of a failure of the crops. An instance occurred in the year 1770, which is thus described by Mr. Simonds:

"Most difficult to remedy and most distressing was the want of provisions and hay. Such a scene of misery of man and beast we never saw before. There was not anything of bread kind equal to a bushel of meal for every person when the schooner sailed the 6th of February (three months ago) and less of meat and vegetables in proportion—the Indians and hogs had part of that little."

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He goes on to say that the flour that had lately arrived in the schooner was wet and much damaged; there was no Indian corn to be had; for three months they had lived without coffee or molasses, nor had they any tea except of the spruce kind.

Gradually, however, the circumstances of the settlers at Portland Point improved, and after the marriage of the two partners to two of the daughters of Capt. Francis Peabody * they were enabled to surround themselves, little by little, with home comforts, and life became less arduous. Samuel Peabody, their brother-in-law, settled about the year 1770 at Manawagonish, in what was then known as the Township of Conway, now the parish of Lancaster, and Jonathan Leavitt, another brother-in-law, built himself a house in the same locality; both were therefore neighbors to the settlers at Portland Point. Samuel Peabody was a man of spirit and enterprise. In common with others of the early settlers he devoted some attention to clearing and improving his lands, but he was also a land surveyor and one of the first mill owners and lumberers on the St. John river, the centre of his operations being at the Oromocto.

Jonathan Leavitt had a good framed house and barn and about sixty acres of cleared land (marsh and upland) at Manawagonish. Later he built a house at Carleton, which was a more convenient residence for the seafaring business in which he was generally employed. Mr. Leavitt came to St. John from New Hampshire, in 1764, to engage in the service of the company, being then a youth of about 18 years of age. He afterwards married Hephzibah the youngest daughter of Capt. Francis Peabody, receiving with his bride, no doubt, the marriage portion provided by her father's

*James Simonds and Hannah Peabody were married in Haverhill, Mass., November 9, 1767. James White and Elizabeth Peabody were also married in New England a little later.

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will. [See foot note below]* He usually had command of the Polly, Merrimack or some one of the company's vessels. Later he built vessels for himself. He and his brother, Daniel Leavitt, were the men who piloted into the harbor of St. John the fleets that arrived from New York during the year 1784 with some thousands of Loyalists. In his testimony given in a law suit in 1792, Jonathan Leavitt says that in early times the places of anchorage in the harbor were at the flats on the west side between Fort Frederick and Sand Point, and at Portland Point. The first ot these was generally used by strangers, and the latter by the vessels of the company. It was not until the year 1783 that vessels anchored in front of the upper cove, (now the Market Slip) that place being till

*Captain Francis Peabody died in the early part of the year 1773. His will is a quaint old document beginning as follows:—"In the name of God, Amen.—I, Francis Peabody of Maugerville in the county of Sunbury and Province of Nova Scotia, being thro' the abundant goodness of God, though weak in body yet of a sound and perfect understanding and memory, do constitute this my last will and testament and desire it may be received by all as such.

"First, I most humbly bequeath my soul to God my maker, beseeching His most gracious acceptance of it through the all-sufficient merits of my Redeemer, Jesus Christ. I give my body to the earth from whence it was taken in full assurance of its resurrection from thence at the last day.

"As to my worldly estate I will and positively order that all my just debts be paid first."

. . . . . .

The will goes on to provide for the distribution of his property; to the widow one-third of his real and personal estate in Nova Scotia and one-third of his lands in Middleton and Rowley in New England and the use of $200 during her lifetime; to his sons Samuel, Stephen, Francis and Oliver is divided in nearly equal proportions the remainder of the estate, and the will closes in the words following:—

"Item, I give to my daughter Elizabeth White thirty dollars to be paid by my two eldest sons in household goods.

"Item, to my daughter Hannah Simonds five dollars, to be paid by my two eldest sons.

"Item, to my daughter Hephzibah I give three hundred dollars to be paid by my two eldest sons in household goods on the day of her marriage. As to my own household goods and furniture I leave to the discretion of my loving wife to dispose of, excepting my Sword, which I give to my son Samuel. I appoint my dear wife and my son Samuel Executors of this my last Will and Testament.

As witness my hand,

FRANCIS PEABODY, Sr.

Delivered this 26th day of October. the year of our Lord 1771.
In presence of us,

ISRAEL KINNEY,
ALEXANDER TAPLEY,
PHINEHAS NEVERS.

BENJAMIN ATHERTON, Registrar.
This Will was proved, approved, and registered this 25th day of June, 1773.

JAMES SIMONDS,
Judge of Probate.

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then deemed unsafe. Samuel Peabody and Jonathan Leavitt were in business together in 1773. They built a schooner called the Menaguash. This vessel, however, was not the first one built at St. John; that honor belongs to a schooner called the Betsy. The construction of this little vessel was undertaken in the year 1769 by Simonds and White. The materials were cut, as one might say, on the spot, the rigging was sent from Newburyport by Hazen and Jarvis, and about half the iron used came out of their old sloop Wilmot. A shipwright named Michael Hodge was engaged to build the vessel for 23⅓ shillings per ton, and Adonijah Colby was his assistant. She was launched during the autumn, and sailed for Newburyport with her first cargo on the 3rd February following, Jonathan Leavitt going in her as master. She was sold the next year for £200, and Mr. Simonds expressed his satisfaction at the price secured as being better than was expected. The launching of the little schooner Betsy was an event of historic importance. Little did her designers and builders imagine that they were the pioneers of an industry that in future years would place St. John fourth amongst the cities of the empire as a ship owning port and lead her to claim the proud title of "the Liverpool of America."*

*In the year 1853 on the occasion of the turning of the first sod of what is now the Intercolonial railway there was an immense trades procession in which there marched 1090 shipwrights, representing seventeen shipyards. This shows what an important industry shipbuilding was in those days.

When Jonathan and Daniel Leavitt were engaged in sailing the company's vessels, it is said that they became discouraged after a time with the outlook at St. John, and proposed moving so some other place where there was a larger population and more business. Mr. White strongly dissuaded them, concluding his exhortation with the remark, "Don't be discouraged, boys, keep up a good heart! Why ships will come here from England yet!"

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In the first of these historic papers it was stated that one of the chief inducements that led James Simonds to fix upon the harbor of St. John as a place of settlement was the abundance of limestone there. Soon after the formation of the company some experiments were made which proved the excellent quality of the lime, and thenceforth it became an article of export. The company had four lime kilns, the situation of which will be best understood by a reference to modern landmarks. One was at the base of Fort Howe hill opposite the head of Long Wharf, another on the old road from Fort Howe to the Indian House, another near St. Luke's church and a fourth near the Suspension Bridge. In the course of their ten years business Simonds and White sent to Newburyport more than 3,500 hogsheads of lime, for which they received twenty shillings (or four dollars) per cask; they also sent lime to Halifax, Cornwallis and other places in Nova Scotia, and in May, 1773, they even shipped a cargo of 208 hogsheads of lime (with 5,000 bricks and some pine boards) to Newfoundland in the sloop Merrimack. The work of quarrying and burning limestone was carried on by the laborers of the company, many of whom were employed in the winter season in getting out the stone and hauling it with oxen to the kilns, others in cutting wood for burning. The wood grew almost on the spot where it was required, and its cutting served to clear the land as well as provide fuel for the lime kilns.

Such was the beginning of an industry that afterwards grew to large proportions, and which, in spite of McKinley tariffs and Dingley bills, may some day have a great future in store for it. Messrs. Simonds and White, however, labored under great difficulties in the early days of this industry. The facilities for manufacturing were by no means good, the men employed

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lacked experience and casks were difficult to procure. However, the vast quantity of limestone, the convenience of the wood for burning and of the harbor for shipment, inclined Mr. Simonds to prosecute the industry, and as early as August 18, 1764, we find him writing to Mr. Hazen in the following terms: "If the lime answers well we shall want 150 hogsheads; it will be well to get the cheapest sort such as are powder posted, often sold at half price, with hoops and boards for heads. . . . Next winter we can employ the oxen at sleding wood and stone, Mr. Middleton at making casks."

Mr. Simonds visited Halifax the same year, whence he wrote Mr. Blodget, "I have been with the King's mason; have shewn him a specimen of our lime; he likes it well and gives me encouragement that he will take all of me that he wants either for public or private use, (he is the only dealer in town) at a rate that will net at St. Johns three dollars or more pr. H'hd."

The following spring Mr. Simonds writes again: "If the lime answers well, can burn any quantity whatever. The want of hogsheads is the greatest difficulty, the want of a house to cover it the next, . . dispatch in shipping can never be made without a lime house to have it ready when any vessel arrives."

Soon after, a warehouse was built for storing and a wharf for shipping the lime, but the difficulty of procuring casks remained. There was a cooper shop at Portland Point, where the men employed by the company worked: "Middleton," says Mr. Simonds, "makes one hogshead per day, Abbot one in two days, Godsoe one in a day, so there cannot be many casks ready for lime." He complains of having hoop poles to cut and pick up all over the woods as being a great hindrance to other work. On one occasion he says,

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with much disgust, "Old Abbot did not do one day's work for sixty days after his wife arrived, no dependence can be placed on him."

One more extract only can be given respecting the lime industry which is also of interest as showing that mild winters were not in olden times unknown.

"Have had but little snow this winter, but few days that the ground has been covered; have got to the water side a large quantity of wood and wharf logs, about 300 hogsheads of Limestone to the kiln, and should have had much more of both articles if there had been snow. Our men have been so froze and wounded that we have not had more than three men's constant labour to do this and sled sixty loads of hay, saw boards for casks, look after the cattle and draw firewood. Shall continue drawing or dragging wood and stone as long as the ground is froze and then cut timber for a schooner and boat stone for a Lime kiln which with the wharf will take 400 tuns."

It will be remembered that among their various branches of business the members of our old trading company at St. John had undertaken "To enter upon and pursue with all speed and faithfulness the cod fishery, seine fishery," etc.; it is therefore time to say something about the fishery.

During the earlier years of the partnership small schooners were employed in the Bay of Fundy at various points fishing for cod and pollock. The company had quite an important station for drying and salting fish at Indian Island * in Passamaquoddy Bay. Here for the first few years they carried on an extensive business, but later they paid more attention to their weirs at St. John. Simonds & White, during the seven years prior to the Revolutionary war, sent to Boston and Newburyport 4,000 barrels of alewives or gaspereaux, valued at 14 shillings per barrel, the whole amounting in value to about $12,000. They also shipped considerable quantities of bass, shad, salmon and sturgeon, and in addition sold to their employees and to the inhabitants up the river quantities of the

*This island was variously known as Indian Island, Perkins Island, L'Attereli Island and was by the natives called Jeganagoose.

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same fish in the way of ordinary trade. Many persons, who were at other times employed in the company's service, in the spring of the year, went fishing on their own account, and this was a source of great inconvenience to the company because many of their best hands for the time deserted them leaving them to shift as they might with the remainder. We cannot do better than quote from one of James Simonds letters on this head; he says:

"In the spring we must go into the Wiers every tide; this we must do if it was for nothing else but to keep our men from selling bait to the fishermen for rum, which is not only attended with the loss of the fish so sold, but of the men's time who would drink so to excess as not to be able to do anything. We hope to catch nearly a thousand barrels; shall not have barrels enough but think we can save that quantity till they can be made or procured. The two hundred hogsheads asked for in our memorandum is for salting in the first pickel, shall have two hundred more made for the same end. As the fish [Gaspereaux] don't run longer than twelve days none can be repacked until all is caught. We think it best for the Paquet to be here at furtherst by the first of May with salt and lay here fourteen or fifteen days, the hands to be shipped to assist in catching, salting, etc. This will be a saving of the expense and wastage of landing the salt, and a saving of store room that will be much wanted. Large allowance ought to be made for contrary winds as some vessels at that season have been upwards of twenty days on their passage; one week too late would defeat the design."

In addition to the gaspereaux—salmon and bass were taken at various places in great abundance and it would appear from Mr. Simonds letter that the company had at one time a large weir at the Nashwaak where there was a famous salmon and bass fishery.

The little schooner Polly was usually handled by Jonathan Leavitt during the fishing season and employed in deep water fishing. Annapolis Basin and Passamaquoddy Bay and Grand Manan were all included in Captain Leavitt's field of operations. Under date June 22, 1768, Mr. Simonds writes:—

"Leavitt in the Polly has just arrived from Annapolis; he says he has lost a fare of fish for want of a sufficient length of cable to ride at anchor, and that he must have one by the middle of August or he shall lose one or two more fares at Grand Manan."

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In addition to other branches of business started at St. John by Simonds & White, they built the first saw mill there, which was in operation as early at least as the year 1767. The site of the mill is a matter of some uncertainty. It may have been at the outlet of Lily Lake, where a little later a grist mill was built, but it is quite as probable it was a tide mill and in that case the site would undoubtedly have been at the outlet of the old Mill Pond not far from where the Union Railway depot stands today. Probably a tide mill would have been more inconvenienced by drifting ice than a mill situated at the outlet of Lily Lake, hence some argument may be deduced from the following statement in one of Mr. Simonds' letters: "The mill could not go before the middle of April and the ice has been continually breaking the dam ever since."

The hands first employed in running the mill were "slow and unfaithful" and gave so little satisfaction that Simonds and White were compelled to write to Newburyport for assistance and in their letter state:

> The mill we cannot operate without more and better hands; we want three men, one that understands tending a mill and two teamsters, which we beg you will send in the next vessel. Four oxen more than we have may be employed to good advantage."

The logs first sawn were cut on the surrounding hillsides and hauled to the mill by oxen. A good deal of the lumber manufactured was used by the Company in the erection of their buildings, but some of it was exported. Up to the year 1774 most of the clearings around the harbor were made incidentally by the cutting of logs for the mill, fuel for the settlers and the garrison, and wood for the lime burners. No lands other than the marsh had at this time been cleared or enclosed for cultivation, with the exception of a small patch or two at Portland Point for the purpose of raising potatoes.

About the year 1770 the company built a grist mill

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at Lily Lake and made a road to it. This road ran around the rear of Fort Howe hill and a continuation of it led out to the marsh. There was a branch leading from it to the head of the millpond where in early days there was a brick yard—for brick making was another industry started by our enterprising business pioneers. They had a second brick yard near the old mill pond and a third at "Bluff Head" near the falls.

The wages of the ordinary laborers employed by Simonds and White were generally 2s. 6d. (or half a dollar) per day and they boarded themselves. Few of them, however, received any money but took up their wages in goods delivered at the company's store. By all odds the item most frequently charged against them was the popular beverage of the day, New England rum. The writer of this article had the curiosity to examine the charges for rum contained in one of the old day books for a period of one month—the month being selected at random, and it appeared that twelve men then in the company's employ consumed about half a gallon of rum per day. Apparently there was a marked difference in individual habits, for while four of the men averaged half a pint each per day, the other eight consumed on an average only half a pint each in three days. Tea, the great modern beverage, was rather an expensive article and appears to have been used very sparingly, rum on the contrary retailed at 8 pence a pint and was used almost universally. It is evident that human nature was the same then as now. The men frequently drank to excess and some of them probably would have been utterly unreliable but for the fact that the company were masters of the situation and could cut off the supply. They generally doled out the liquor by half pints and gills to their labourers.

The popular idea that the climate of this province was much more severe in ancient than in modern days

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is not borne out by the correspondence of Simonds and White. From it we learn that 130 years ago the navigation of the river, as now, opened early in April and that the river could be relied on as a winter route to St. Anns "only between the first of January and the last of February and then many times difficult." The winters were frequently quite as mild as they are now. For example on March 6, 1769, Mr. Simonds wrote: "We had but little snow this winter, but few days that the ground has been covered"; and to show that this was not a very rare instance of a mild season we quote from another letter dated February, 18, 1771, in which he says: "There has not been one day's sledding this winter and as the season is so far advanced there cannot now be much more than enough to get the hay from the marsh at best."

These quotations do not by any means bear out the popular notion of an "old fashioned winter." The fact is that the climate of New Brunswick has not materially changed since the period of its first settlement, and this conclusion is substantiated by the weather observations which have been made by the Dominion government during the past thirty years, or since the time of the confederation of the province.

W. O. RAYMOND.

Partridge Island battery, which has been dismantled for some years, is to be equipped with modern guns, it is said. It was originally put there about 1812, and was remodelled in 1858. The guns put there in the latter year consisted of five 68 pounders and five 8 inch guns. These took the place of the 25 pounders which had been there before. The lighthouse stands within the confines of the battery.

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KEMBLE MANOR.

AN EARLY LAND GRANT ON THE ST. JOHN RIVER.

The capture of Quebec by a British army under General James Wolfe, in 1759, and the extinction of French power in Canada that ultimately followed, relieved the English colonies from the dread of French and Indian invasion that had for years menaced their feeble frontier settlements, and established English supremacy on the northern portion of this continent. With peace came a period of expansion to the older colonies, as well as to those more recently acquired, and the exploration of the vast domain opened new and inviting lands for the adventurous colonists to exploit in search of wealth and fame. Acadia, with its trackless forests and inexhaustable fisheries, presented an inviting field for the bold pioneers of English civilization, and the St. John soon bore on its broad bosom exploring and trading parties from the older colonies in quest of locations for settlement or speculation. At no period in the history of these colonies was the Anglo-Saxon greed for land more fully exemplified than during the years that intervened between the closing of the wars with France and the beginning of the American Revolution.

In 1765, three years after the final overthrow of French power, large land grants were given in New Brunswick, then a part of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and known as Sunbury county. Thousands of acres, in all directions, appear to have been granted not only to the deserving army officers who had conquered Canada, but to all projectors who offered to make settlement.*

*Murdoch's History of Nova Scotia. Vol. I, pp. 451.

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The grant now known as the "Kemble Manor" was one of these, and on the 30th of October, 1765, it was, by letters patent, granted to General Thomas Gage and nineteen others, all residents of New York. General Gage, the leading spirit in the enterprise, was commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, and a distinguished soldier. The other grantees were Daniel Disney, John Johnston, Stephen Kemble, James Glassford, Wm. Jones, Samuel Kemble, Henry Gage, Wm. Bayard, Wm. Hervey, Arch'd McCall, Giles Creed, Wm. Cockcroft, John Vanhorne, Samuel Bayard, John Watts, Robert Bayard, Stephen Johnston, Andrew Simpson, and Philip French.

All of the grantees were prominent men in their day, and many of them were connected by blood or marriage. General Gage had been an active officer during the Seven Years War in America, and his name is also interwoven with the early history and incidents of the American Revolution, as he was the last royal governor of Massachussetts. His



Signature of Gen. Gage.

wife was a daughter of Peter Kemble, president of the council of New Jersey; Stephen Kemble and Samuel Kemble were her brothers. Henry Gage was the son of General Gage, and was then a child of five years, whose name had been placed among the grantees by his father to insure him an interest in the enterprise. He became a lieutenant in the Seventh regiment during the Revolutionary war, and on the death of his uncle, Viscount Gage, inherited the family titles and estates in Sussex, England.

Stephen Kemble will be mentioned later. Samuel Kemble was collector of the port of New York, and the last to hold that office under British rule. In early

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life he was an officer in the Royal Navy. At the close of the Revolution he went to London and established himself as a merchant, where he died.

Archibald McCall was a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, and was married to Edith Kemble, a sister of Stephen and Samuel Kemble.

William, Samuel and Robert Bayard, were relatives of the Kembles. William Bayard was the head of the mercantile firm of William Bayard & Co., and was a Loyalist at the Revolution, and in consequence lost his estate. Samuel Bayard was major of the Kings Orange Rangers during the Revolution, and died in Nova Scotia, and from him the eminent president of the New Brunswick Medical Society, Dr. William Bayard, is descended.

John Watts was a member of the Council of the province of New York, and a prominent man in the colony, wealthy and honorable. He was also a Loyalist during the Revolution, and lost in consequence his estates, and died in England.

Of the other grantees nothing further can be learned. But all were evidently wealthy and highly respectable men.

In the grant given at Halifax by command of His Excellency Montague Wilmot, Esquire, Captain-general and governor-in-chief in and over his majesty's province of Nova Scotia or Accadie, and signed by Richard Bulkley, the boundaries of the Manor are given as follows:—

"Beginning at the southernmost boundary of lands granted to Beamsly Glazier and others, and running south eighty-seven degrees west six miles and an half on said line, thence south forty degrees and ten miles on ungranted lands till it meets with the part of St. John river called the Longreach, thence to be bounded by said Longreach and the other parts of the river to first mentioned boundary, containing in the whole by estimation twenty thousand acres, more or less," etc.

All manner of mines unopened were also given,

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"excepting mines of gold and silver, precious stones, *lapis lasuli*, lead, copper and coals," and the grantees, on their part, agreed to pay His Majesty "a free yearly quit rent of one shilling sterling money on Michaelmas Day for every fifty acres so granted." The grant was also upon the express condition that each of the grantees was to plant, cultivate, improve or enclose one-third part of the land granted within ten years, one-third within twenty, and the remaining third within thirty years from the date of the grant; and each grantee was also to plant within ten years from the date of the grant two acres with hemp, and to continue "a like quantity of acres planted during the successive years," on pain of forfeiture.

How or by whom the lands were chosen we have now no record, but that some of those whose names appear as grantees visited the St. John river there can be little doubt, as the selection was made with judgment and a knowledge of the capabilities of the section of country chosen. But the grantees seem to have soon grown tired of the large estate they had so easily acquired, and on the 27th of May, 1767, fifteen of them, including General Thomas Gage, assigned their interests in the lands granted them to Stephen Kemble, one of the original grantees, "for divers good causes and considerations them thereunto moving, and more especially for and in consideration of Ten Pounds, current money of the Province of New York, to them or some or one of them in hand paid by the said Stephen Kemble." In this document General Gage is styled "The Hon'ible Thomas Gage, Esquire," and Stephen Kemble, "Captain Stephen Kemble, Esquire."*

Colonel Stephen Kemble, who had become the owner of the grant, was born at New Brunswick, New

*This document with the original grant is now in the possession of the heirs of the late Chas. H. Peters, of St. John.

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Jersey, in 1740. He entered the British army as ensign in the Forty-fourth regiment in 1757, during the French war, and first served in the campaign under Lord Howe, which ended in the repulse at Ticonderoga and the death of that nobleman. In 1760 he was transferred to the Fifteenth regiment, and in 1765 became captain in the Sixtieth, or Royal American regiment of foot. In 1772, he received the staff appointment of "Deputy Adjutant-General of the forces in North America," and in 1775 became major of the Sixtieth foot, first battalion, and lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment in 1778. In the autumn of 1779, Lord Rawdon resigned the adjutant-generalcy of the British army in America, and Captain Kemble who had become colonel, desired to be promoted to the vacant place. But the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, declined to appoint him, whereupon he resigned the deputyship, and rejoined his regiment then serving in Jamaica. Colonel Kemble's successor as deputy-adjutant-general was Major John Andre, whose sad fate is familiar to every reader of American history. In April, 1780, Colonel Kemble sailed from Jamacia in command of a force to attempt the conquest of Nicaragua, in Central America, on the Spanish Main. The expedition proved disastrous, owing to the unhealthiness of the country, but it added the colony of British Honduras to the empire. Colonel Kemble remained in the British army until 1805, when he sold out and returned, and "resided the rest of his life at New Brunswick, New Jersey, in the home in which he was born," writes the chronicler from whom these facts are taken, "and in



Signature of Col. Kemble.

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which he died, on the 20th of December, 1822, in his eighty-second year."*

The Kemble Manor, which had passed into the possession of Colonel Kemble for the nominal sum of ten pounds current money of the province of New York, is beautifully situated on the west side of the river St. John, in Kings and Queens counties. It extends from a short distance below Oak Point, in the parish of Greenwich, to Little River, in the parish of Hampstead, a distance of ten miles, and includes the intervale island known as Spoon Island, and a part of Long Island. The lands of the Manor also extend some miles westward of the river, within a short distance of the Jerusalem settlement, in the parish of Petersville, and include the range of forest clad hills that bound the western lands of the St. John. Some of the most fertile farms in the valley of the St. John are now on the river front of the Manor.

The New England settlement at Maugerville was founded in 1762, and progressed but slowly, and the rude habitation of the early pioneers were scattered far apart along the silent banks of our great river, but the lands of the Manor remained in the primeval wildness in which they had been found, until the arrival of the Loyalists.

The first attempt to form a settlement or dispose of the lands of the Manor was made in 1774, when Colonel Kemble gave, on the 7th of May of that year, a letter of attorney to Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres, of Falmouth, Kings county, Nova Scotia, appointing him his attorney (under certain limitations as to sale, etc.,) with power to substitute and appoint one or more attornies. DesBarres, on July 21, 1774, appointed James Simonds attorney, and the powers of the

*The Kemble Papers. New York Historical Society's Collections 1883-4. 2 Vols.

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latter are defined in a document which was placed on record, amongst other documents, in the registry office of the old county of Sunbury. (The book is extant). It is entitled :—

"Instructions for carrying into execution the letter of Attorney of Stephen Kemble, Esq., to Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres, Esq., to be observed by James Simonds, Esq., his substitute for this purpose specially appointed."

According to these instructions the whole of the 20,000 acres of lands possessed by Colonel Kemble upon the River St. John, was to be divided on the plan into lots of 200 acres, observing to allow communication with the river to as many of the settlers as possible. Any number of these lots were to be sold, not exceeding one half of the whole, upon the payment of five pounds sterling when a proper deed in fee simple was to be given the purchaser. Or if preferred a long lease of each lot was given, renewable forever, upon payment of one penny fine, at a rent of ten shillings sterling per annum, the purchaser or lessee to pay the quit rent and perform all the other conditions of the original grant. This attempt to sell or lease a portion of the lands was made to save the grant from escheat, as none of the conditions on which the grant had been given had been complied with. The document was not registered until the 5th of September, 1782, in the Sunbury county register book, and nothing appears to have been done in the meantime to carry out the instructions of Colonel Kemble. But when it became apparent that the conflict between England and her colonies was drawing to a close, and that numbers of Loyalists from the revolted provinces would be compelled to seek refuge in Nova Scotia, Colonel Kemble's possessions on the St. John river assumed a value they would not otherwise have possessed, and James Simonds entered upon his duties as agent.

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Among the sales effected and recorded in the old Sunbury County register are the following:

Sept. 1, 1782, Lot No 7, nearly opposite Belle Isle Point in the Long Reach, containing 200 acres, to Tamberlane Campbell.*

Sept. 18, 1783, to John Jones, Yeoman, on the N. W. side of the river, about the head of Long Reach, 400 acres; 80 rods front, and in depth two and a half miles.

The termination of the conflict between the mother country and her rebellous colonies, in 1783, inaugurated a new era in the history of the remaining North American provinces, and Nova Scotia became a refuge for the Loyalists. But it was found that a great portion of the land bordering the St. John had been granted to persons who had not fulfilled the terms on which the grants had been given, and these consequently had to be escheated to the crown before they could again be granted to the Loyalists. The Kemble Manor was not included in these escheated estates, as it had been surveyed some years previously, and the portion bordering on the river, laid off in 200 acre lots. James Simonds, who had assumed control and management of the Manor, disposed of a number of lots to Loyalist refugees and disbanded soldiers, who were arriving at St. John in large numbers, and seeking locations on which to settle and build homes for their families. The St. John river and its numerous tributaries presented to those war-worn veterans and refugees an inviting prospect, and the log houses and clearings of the loyal settlers rapidly appeared along the river's banks.

The lots on the Manor were in request, and a number were soon occupied. The first settlers who braved the hardships and privations of those early years were men of rare courage and great bodily vigor, and many of their descendants still occupy the farms they reclaimed from the wilderness. In 1786 an attempt

*Tamberlane Campbell and John Jones were pre-Loyalist settlers on the St. John, and during the rebellion remained loyal to the crown.

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was made to escheat the lands of the Manor to the crown, but it failed, and this caused Colonel Kemble to visit New Brunswick in 1788.

Captain George Sproule, first surveyor general of New Brunswick, was among the early purchasers of lots, and established a farm on which he resided a portion of the time. Some discontent existed among the settlers in that section, and Captain Sproule made the first accurate survey of the grant, and in consequence fifteen lots claimed by Colonel Kemble were thrown out and granted to others, and the bounds of the Manor were fixed.

In 1788 Colonel Kemble visited New Brunswick; but his stay in the province was short. He arrived at St. John on the 11th of September, and embarked for Digby on the 16th of October. During that brief period he visited Fredericton and had an interview with Captain Sproule, in reference to the lots thrown out of the patent of the Kemble Manor, but apparently accomplished nothing, as the survey was allowed to stand unchanged. He also spent some days at the Manor on his way down the river, in adjusting matters with the settlers. This was the only visit Colonel Kemble made to this province, and its geographical posltion or resources did not then impress him favorably. Before he left he arranged to have the management of the Manor transferred from James Simonds, with whom he had some differences, to Ward Chipman, and the latter or his son, in conjunction with Captain Sproule, conducted the business of the Manor until it was finally sold off.

The prices paid for lots by the first settlers on the Manor now seem small, but were large considering the abundance of favorable locations to be had at that time on the St. John Twenty-five pounds currency appeared at first to be the ruling price, though some lots were

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sold for a much higher price. In 1788, Colonel David Fanning purchased lot 34 for £25 currency; Peter Connor paid £45.3s for lot 46. John Jones, yeoman, paid £40 for lot 35, James Brittain £25 for lot 33, and Edward Jones, for lot 55, "partly in Kings and partly in Queens county," £44. The value of lots, however, began gradually to increase. In 1797 Colonel David Fanning sold lot 30 to Hezekiah Scribner for "one hundred and twenty pounds current money."

The material advancement of the settlers on the Manor, under the circumstances, could not be otherwise than slow, and from the correspondence of Ward Chipman with Colonel Kemble, (preserved by Rev. W. O. Raymond,) we gather glimpses of the men who linked their fortunes and passed their lives upon the Manor. Industry and thrift were their characteristics. And that they were a religious people is evident, for unaided they built a parish church at Oak Point, which was used for public worship in 1797.

In writing to Colonel Kemble, December 21st, 1789, Mr. Chipman gives this account of the Manor and of some of the settlers :—

"Everything continues to go on well at the Manor. The crops this season have been tolerably good and I have no complaints from any quarter. I have given notice that I expect all those who have not done it to come down and take their deeds and execute their mortgages. Several have accordingly complied and others have made their apology promising to be here as soon as the ice is formed. I do not apprehend there will be any difficulty with any of them. Some are trying to make up the money to pay immediately if they can without a mortgage. If we may judge from one instance they must be doing very well. You recollect John Urquhart whom on account of his industry and poverty you desired me to assist if necessary by furnishing him with a cow and calf. Of this I informed him, but he has not only declined this offer but very honestly at the expiration of the year came down and paid off the interest due upon his bond."

In 1792 Thomas Flewelling, the settler at the lower bounds of the Manor, erected a fulling mill, "and I understand it is well accustomed and very useful," wrote Ward Chipman to Colonel Kemble. And in the

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same letter he informed Colonel Kemble "that the road is open thro' the Manor from the highlands along the river, upon the communication between this place [St. John] and Fredericton, and next summer there will be no difficulty in travelling on horseback the whole of that distance."

In this letter Mr. Chipman refers to the backwardness of the settlers in the payment of principal and interest due on their farms, but, he adds, "I should not recommend commencing any suit upon the mortgagee to get back the lots forfeited at present, for there is such a scarcity of inhabitants in proportion to the lands for sale upon easy terms, that it would be very difficult if you was to eject any of them to sell the lands again for the same money, with all the improvements made upon them."

Gradually the remaining available lots of the Manor were disposed of, until the last was sold in 1811. But the backland remained in one unbroken tract, and in 1820 this, consisting of about 10,000 acres, was sold to Nehemiah Merritt, of St. John, for about £1,000 New Brunswick currency, and with that sale ended Colonel Stephen Kemble's interest in the Manor. For fifty-five years he retained ownership in a tract of country from which he had drawn a large amount of money without the expenditure of any capital, except the "ten pounds current money of the province of New York," paid in 1767, and with only one generous act toward the settlers on the Manor who had contributed to his wealth, to his credit—that mentioned in Chipman's letter of Dec. 21st 1789, but which manly John Urquart declined, But we must not judge the old veteran too harshly. In a letter from which his autograph is taken, to Ward Chipman, dated London Feb. 22, 1800, he writes, "the bonds," meaning the mortgages on the farms of the Manor, "I look upon as a sacred deposit for my

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brother's children." These words give us a clue to his character.

The Loyalists who linked their fortunes to the Manor proved efficient and enterprising settlers and law abiding subjects. Most of them were men of good birth and education, who left their mark on the community they assisted to found, and the story of the Manor would not be complete without their names which follow, and which have been collected from various sources :—

Samuel Wiggins, Simon Flaglor, Frederick Hamm, John Cheak, Thomas Flewelling, John Flewelling, John Crabb, Joseph Brittain, James Moore, Simon Fraser, James Clarke, Col. James Brittain, John Jones, George Webb Price, George Sproule, Esq., Nathaniel Adams, Col. David Fanning, John Urquhart, Adam Boyle, Robert Laidler, Philip Huestis, Lawrence Foster, Charles Richards, Peter Berton, Leonard Linkner, Martin Trecarton, Thos Flewelling, Charles Theal, John Morrel, Robert Ward, John McMasters, Joseph Lyon, Tamberlane Campbell, Samuel Emerson, Widow Price, Allan Price, Peter Connor, Walter Bates, Jabez Clarke, Hezekiah Scribner, James Carson, John Merritt, Isaac Clarke, Stephen Humbert.

I will not follow further the fortunes of Kemble Manor. The loyal men who reclaimed from the wilderness the fertile farms of the Manor have long passed away. Some sleep on the homesteads where they lived and labored, but many lie in the beautiful burying ground at Oak Point. The ceaseless tide of travel that furrows the waters of the broad St. John passes close to their graves, and across the pleasant landscape above the tinted foliage of the trees, the heedless traveller sees the tapering spire of the parish church in which they worshipped, but the story of their trials and heroic constancy will live in our annals and hallow the traditions of the old Manor. JONAS HOWE.

The deaths by cholera in St. John in 1834 were about 50, half the total number of cases.

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A SHIPYARD FIRE.

The shipyard fire of 1841 was the most disastrous known in the history of Portland, up to that period; and it was only surpassed by the great fire of August, 1877, which followed closely on the heels of the destruction of the business part of St. John in June of the year last named.

In 1841 Portland was a village and was a suburb of the city, with a population in the whole parish of some 6,000 people. Many of the now well known streets had then no existence. Douglas avenue and Harrison streets, for instance, were not laid off as highways, nor was Sheriff street much of a thoroughfare, but Simonds, Portland and Acadia streets, with High street and the Strait Shore road, bounded blocks which were the centre of a busy population. There were houses along Main street, under the side of Fort Howe, and on the road leading up over Fort Howe hill. Shipbuilding was then a very prominent iudustry, and there were no less than seven yards in active operation between the Long wharf and the head of Strait Shore. The first of these was that of Owens & Duncan. Next, at Rankin's wharf, was that of George Thomson, the builder and occupant of "Thomson's Ark."* Along the shore, to the westward, were the yards of Messrs. Hawes, Briggs, McLellan, Smith and Ruddock. When these were all in operation they gave employment to hundreds of men.

The Owens & Duncan yard was situated on the ground south of Main street and east of Acadia street,

*Thomson's Ark consisted of the hull of a dismantled ship, on which Mr. Thomson built a commodious and comfortable dwelling for himself and family. It was constructed about the year 1836 (?) and was destroyed by fire in 1846.

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known as Lynch's yard in later years, the blacksmith shop being at the foot of the narrow thoroughfare known as Chapel street. When a ship was on the stocks, its bow would be about where are now the steps which go down from the street by the Kelly & Murphy factory. Here, in the summer of 1841, was built a fine copper fastened, iron-kneed ship of 900 tons, which the firm intended to name the "Jane Duncan." It was to be launched at the full tides which came at the first of September, and by Thursday, August 26th, but little remained to be done to fit the craft to leave the ways. The lower masts and top masts were in place, with much of the standing rigging, and the hull was fully graved and painted. In the work of tarring a bottom, more or less tar was always to be found spattered around among the chips and shavings with which a shipyard was littered, and the Owens & Duncan yard was no exception in this respect. There had been very dry weather for some time at the date named, and as a result the whole surface of the yard in the vicinity of the ship was a bed of most highly inflammable material.

Mr. Owens, whose name is perpetuated today in the Owens Art Institution at Mount Allison University, took an active interest in the details of shipbuilding, and gave his personal supervision to the work. As noon approached on this particular day, the 26th of August, the rigging was being set up. It was found that the lanyards would not pass through the dead-eyes where the standing rigging came down to the ship's rail, and Mr. Owens decided to have this remedied at once. The dinner hour had arrived and the men were leaving, when he called one or two of them to remain a little while and do the job. One of these men was John Doherty, then quite young and now living in Main street, North End. Mr. Owens directed Mr. Doherty to go to the blacksmith shop with a boy and

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get some bolts which were being heated to enlarge the holes in the dead-eyes. Doherty and others brought these bolts as they were needed, carrying them through the yard at a glowing heat.

The work at the forward chain plates was completed and attention was given to the main chains. Whether, in the interval, a red hot bolt was dropped, or whether some of the glowing scales from a bolt fell among the tarry shavings and chips on the ground is not certainly known. It has always been supposed that one of the workmen let a bolt fall. There are others who assert that Mr. Owens himself picked up a partially cooled bolt which lay on the rail, but finding it so much hotter than he expected, laid it down so hastily that it rolled from the rail and fell among the tar and shavings in the yard below. Whatever was the case, while the work was being done at the main chains Mr. Doherty saw a blaze starting among the chips under the bow, where the men had been a few moments before. He at once shouted "fire." Mr. Owens turned, saw the flame and instantly pulled off his coat, ordering Doherty to throw it on the flames to smother them. Doherty did so, but the blaze burst out more fiercely from under the coat, and he ran to the shipyard well to get a bucket of water. In the few moments required to accomplish this, the fire had spread with amazing rapidity, and when Doherty came back the smoke was so thick that he could not get anywhere near the ship. The flames spread to the bed of chips all over the yard and seized greedily on the newly tarred and painted hull, wrapping the ship in a blaze from end to end, and sending up dense clouds of black smoke which could be seen for many miles outside the city. The wind was south-west, and the fire quickly spread to the houses in the vicinity, reaching to and across Portland street, up the west side of

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which it made its way to Main street and Fort Howe. Thence it went up the Fort Howe road, burning the houses on the highway, and extending as far as what was then known as the Jenny Spring Farm, now the Millidge property. It also burned the old gun house at the rear of Fort Howe hill, north of where the present shed of the Militia Department stands. Returning to Portland street, it burned the whole block to the eastward and fronting on Main street, and finally destroyed the Methodist chapel. So rapidly did the flames advance, and so dense was the smoke, that it was out of the question to get anything out of the houses, and they were burned just as they were left by the terrified inmates. Many of the buildings were three and four story tenements, and several of them were newly erected. There was scarcely a dollar of insurance on any of them.

In the hold of the ship were no less than forty tons of lignumvitae, put there for broken stowage. This large quantity of highly combustible wood burned like pitch, and with a terrific heat. The danger of the blazing hull falling over and spreading the fire in new directions was imminent, and to avoid this men were put at the dangerous and arduous work of placing wetted timbers against the sides of the hull, as shoring to keep it in position. At the rear of the ship was a small brig from which the lignumvitae had been taken, and which was aground at that time of the tide. This also took fire and was soon consumed.

The alarm bells were rung when the fire started, but there was little need of them, for the huge volume of smoke and flame could be seen from every part of the city, and vast crowds gathered in the vicinity. The fire engines of that day, such as they were, had no lack of hands to man them, but as it was about low tide when the fire began there was, as usual, a scarcity

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of water. On the occasions of great fires in those times the military took an active part. Over from the barracks on this day came a detachment of the 36th regiment, headed by Major Cairnes, marching on the double-quick, with a detachment of the Royal Artillery under Lieut. Smith. With the military came the ordnance engine, which was considered an efficient piece of fire apparatus then but which would be a veritable antique if placed beside even a hand engine of more modern construction. It was in the form of an oblong box, much like a large chest, with diminutive wheels which made rapid progress difficult except on very level ground. When those who were hauling it went too fast, the machine would begin to "wobble" around, and in such cases it was not unusual for a number of the soldiers to pick up the engine and carry it bodily until better ground was reached. The whole affair weighed only a few hundred pounds. It was painted a lead color, with the royal arms emblazoned upon it—possibly through fear that some light fingered civilian might steal it some dark night. In its principle of action it was a veritable "tub," and the brakes at each end permitted only a small number of men to do the pumping. A large number of workers would not have added to the efficiency of the machine, however, for there was no suction hose or means of water supply other than that furnished by buckets. These were passed from hand to hand up a line of men, the water of each bucket emptied into the engine and the empty buckets passed down another line of men and boys to the source of supply.

In addition to the soldiers with the engine, a portion of the regiment came in marching order with muskets and bayonets. These were stationed at various points to guard property and keep back the crowds. On this occasion some unpleasantness was

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caused by the action of Lieut. Thistlethwayte, in charge of a squad, who ordered away a number of members of the Protection Fire Club from the neighborhood of the house of John Pollock, which is still standing on the corner of Portland and High streets. The members of this body were most of them prominent citizens, and their aims were similar to those of the salvage corps of today. When they were ordered away they remonstrated, whereupon the officer ordered the soldiers to charge, which command was only countermanded through the interference of Mr. Payne, the magistrate. After the fire the occurrence was made the matter of some indignant resolutions, but a little later the difficulty was amicably arranged.*

Her Majesty's Brig "Racer," was in port at the time, and a portion of the crew came to the rescue in their boats, performing many feats of daring in their efforts to prevent the spread of the flames. Lieut. Elliott was in the midst of his men, and was himself considerably injured by the falling of a piece of timber.

The usefulness of both the soldiers and sailors on occasions of this kind was largely due to their numbers and the fact that they worked under orders. When the fire was over, however, the return to the barracks was not always a striking display, for the soldiers were not averse to accepting stimulating draughts as a reward for their valor, and some extraordinary scenes were at times the result.

At this fire they worked hard and did much good, especially in the work of tearing down buildings to stay the advance of the flames. In the excitement of the occasion one of them, named John Johnston,

*Lieut. Alex. Thistlethwaythe, of the 36th. was of a good English family, and was much esteemed by his brother officers. He died, after a short illness, on Nov. 30, 1841, and was buried in Trinity burial ground. At his funeral the body was borne on a six-pounder gun carriage drawn by four black horses, and was followed by all the troops of the garrison, with a large concourse of citizens.

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dropped dead in the ranks. This was the only life lost that day.

The navy also lost some men, but in a different way. Several of the crew of the "Racer," who were detailed for fire duty, were not to be found when the sailors were recalled to the brig. It was evident that they had taken advantage of the occasion to desert, whereupon the "Racer" at once made sail down the Bay until Lepreau harbor was reached. At the Lepreau mills inquiries were made and a lookout stationed to intercept the fugitives on their way to the border, but so far as appears, with no result.

The fire burned about five hours, and in that time destroyed 53 houses occupied by 200 families. Some 1150 people were turned out of house and home, of whom at least 600 were put in a condition of distress by the loss of their worldly possessions. A rough estimate at the time placed the loss at £30,000, or $120,000, made up as follows :—

53 houses burned or pulled down,	$70,000
Wesleyan chapel,	8,000
Ship on the stocks, partly rigged,	28,000
Rigging not in the ship,	4,000
Furniture, goods, etc.,	10,000
	$120,000

There was an insurance of £600 on the chapel, but nothing on the ship and yard. The loss to Owens & Duncan was therefore very heavy. Taking everything into consideration, in the destruction of buildings, and property in the yard, it is believed they suffered to the extent of over $60,000 The total loss by the fire was undoubtedly much greater than was at first supposed. That evening, while some of the men who had been working in the yard, were looking at the ruins Mr. Owens came along, and they bade him good evening. His reply was, "You are pretty fellows, and you

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have made a nice job here." John Doherty, who had been around the ship when the fire started, then asked, "Do you blame me for it, sir?" "No," was the prompt reply. "I was the cause of it myself. What I am sorry for is that so many people have lost so much." After a pause he continued: "Fifteen years ago, I had the table taken from before me and the watch taken out of my pocket for debt, but I have built that ship and I am able to build another."

On the evening following the fire a public meeting was called by Sheriff White, in pursuance of a requisition headed by Chief Justice Chipman, at which the mayor of St. John, Hon. William Black, presided. A subscription list was opened and committees were appointed to collect money and clothing for the relief of the fire sufferers. The circus also gave a benefit performance in aid of the sufferers, and collections were taken in the churches.

After the fire, the Methodist body of Portland held its meetings in the upper room of the Madras school building, near at hand. In due time another church was built, John Owens taking an active interest in the work. This church stood until it was burned in the great Portland fire of October, 1877, which covered the area burned in 1841 and much more territory in that vicinity.

W. K. Reynolds.

WHERE STOOD FORT LATOUR?

Mr. Hannay's reply, in The New Brunswick Magazine for August, to my article under the above title in the July number is naturally not convincing to me. To reply to him, however, would doubtless be but to begin a controversy of tedious length and small profit. In such discussions readers are more apt to be entertained by the skill in fence of the disputants than

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convinced upon the merits of the question. I have said the best I could for my view in my article in July, and presumably Mr. Hannay has said the best he could for his in his reply in August. I am content to let the case go thus before the candid reader, asking him simply to study the two papers point for point together. Where, as in this case, the evidence is not logically conclusive, one can but examine all that is available, judge it dispassionately, and hold his conclusion as a probability. I have never claimed that my view is proven, but simply that it has a greater degree of probability than any other yet advanced, and that in the present state of the question it is historically unfair to make assertions as to the site of the fort unqualified by a doubt. There may yet be discovered in the archives of Europe evidence which will indisputably settle the site of Fort LaTour, and for this we can all agree to hope and assiduously to search.

W. F. GANONG.

"AMERICAN COLONIAL TRACTS."

Mr. Howe's review, in the July issue of THE MAGAZINE, relating to the "American Colonial Tracts," published by George P. Humphrey, of Rochester, New York, is amusing, because it shows that he, like many others, has innocentiy been led to believe that the various pieces "have been reprinted from original copies"; that they "were almost inaccessible"; and that *this* "publication has been begun at a most singularly opportune time." Some very eminent American librarians, who have a thorough knowledge of the bibliography of the original editions, have been duped for once, and we judge that Mr. Howe is to be entirely excused for having been singularly misled.

Mr. Humphrey, in every number of the series, has

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stated that "Colonial Tracts, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student."

As a matter of fact the Humphrey publication is nothing more than a miserable reprint of the well-known work of the Hon Peter Force, whose library now forms a part ot the United States' Library of Congress, at Washington, D. C. In 1836 Mr. Force published his first volume of "Tracts and other Papers, relating principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America." The pieces of this first volume were also included, in 1839, in the first volume of the "Transactions of the American Historical Society," of Washington. The fourth and last volume of his "Tracts" appeared in 1846, and the entire pubcation comprises about 52 pieces.

Force's volumes were and are still an important accession to any library; but everyone familiar with them knows that they are not always absolutely accurate. Mr. Humphrey has not only embodied Force's errors, but he has introduced a mass of others. Force endeavored to give the text of the originals, but Humphrey has "modernized" it—though he nowhere intimates that he has done so. For example, in No. 2 Force gives "Cussetaho", while Humphrey gives "Cusstaho"; in No. 4 neither Force nor Humphrey giv es the title-page correctly, and on p. 77 Force omits "600" before "white People", and again "3000" before "Pack-horses"—both of which Humphrey (p. 86) also omits, though the figures are clearly given in the original edition.

Force in his profatory remarks to his first volume of "Tracts" says: "Of the thirteen Tracts

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contained in the present volume, Nos. 2 and 10 have not heretofore been printed, and Nos. 8 and 9 now appear for the first time in connected form."

In each of these four cases Force added on the title-page his imprint "Washington: Printed by Peter Force, 1835", and the omission of this gives, in several cases, the impression that Humphrey has printed from an original manuscript, which is of course not true.

In the "Library Journal" for June, 1898, attention was called to the deception, and Mr. Humphrey offered a very lame explanation, which must be taken by the discerning student *cum grano salis*. He says, too, that his "sincere desire . . . to place these pamphlets at a low price within the reach of the student of American history must be his justification for their reissue." But we add, Force can be purchased at from $16 to $24, according to the condition of the set, and character of the binding. The saving of four or five dollars is no inducement to the Americanist who desires to write history accurately.

V. H. P.

In addition to the facts given about the steamer "Royal Tar," in the August number of THE MAGAZINE, it may be mentioned the steamer's weekly trip to Portland, Me., was in consequence of an arrangement made with the Cumberland Steam Navigation Co., of the last named city, entered into early in the season of 1836. A well known St. John steamer which was contemporary with the "Royal Tar" was the Water Witch", owned by James Whitney and launched from the yard of Justus Wetmore, Hampton, in April, 1836. It was intended for the Frederidton route, but it also made trips across the Bay to Annapolis and Granville Ferry.

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IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

WITH THE CONTRIBUTORS.

Mr. James Hannay's paper on "Our First Families," is the introduction to a series of which the great historic value is apparent at a glance. It is a most important subject in relation to the Maritime Provinces, and one which has never before been dealt with as its merits demand. Mr. Hannay, as the historian of Acadia, is not only fully equipped to deal with this subject, but he is a writer who can and does make any topic of interest by bringing out all the points of value, and clothing his story in a diction which impresses all who read.

Rev. W. O. Raymond is making very clear the story of the early English settlers at St. John, and the narrative is not less interesting than it is important. The value of local history in all parts of the country becomes each year more apparent, but unfortunately each year the material becomes more difficult of access, and there are not always to be found those who can gather and array it in attractive form. Any community would be fortunate in having such a man as Mr. Raymond, who is not only one of patient research but one who is absolutely fair in his presentation of facts and most lucid in the expression of them.

The story of Kemble Manor, as told by Mr. Jonas Howe, shows how much there is in the history of the Loyalist settlements which has never been put in connected form, and which THE MAGAZINE has the agreeable mission of giving to the world for the first time.

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Mr. Howe tells his story clearly and well, and it will be of special interest to a large number of readers.

Prof. W. F. Ganong has a last word in regard to Fort LaTour, in which he modestly declines to enter upon a controversy, but submits that a verdict should be withheld until more definite proof is obtained on either side. Some further papers on topics of general interest may be expected from Prof. Ganong on his return to Massachusetts after the summer vacation.

As a matter of justice both to the public and itself, THE MAGAZINE publishes an explanation of the method in which the "American Colonial Tracts" have been issued. The writer is a literarian of note, whose opinion in the matter would be authority even did he not point out the grounds on which his statements are made.

So many are alive who remember the disastrous shipyard fire, in 1841, that the publication of the story of it at this day should be of interest both to them and to the present generation.

The publisher has much pleasure in announcing the appearance, at an early day, of some papers on an interesting period of the early history of St. John. The writer is the Count de Bury, who has made a careful study of his subject and is well qualified to discuss it.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The celebration of the golden jubilee of Very Rev. Monsignor Thomas Connolly, Vicar General of the Diocese of St. John, took place on the 10th of July last. In commemoration of the event, a bibliographical sketch has been prepared by Rev. W. C. Gaynor, the present assistant to Monsignor Connolly at St. John, which is not only highly interesting but of no

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small value as a matter of ecclesiastical history. Father Gaynor is a graceful writer, and he has told his story well. In the fifty years of his priesthood, Mgr. Connolly has been conspicuous not only as a pastor of great wisdom and executive ability, but as a citizen of our country whose counsels in matters of general public import have had no light weight. Beloved by his people in the various stations he has filled in various parts of the province, he has had the invariable respect and esteem of non-Catholics in every community where he has been known. As a worker, alike amid the most primitive conditions of the early parishes in the wilderness and of later years in the busy life of the city, he has labored so faithfully and well that the good wishes of his jubilee have come from all classes and creeds. Father Gaynor has told the story clearly, and withal modestly. Without flattery or extravagance of expression he has made a sketch which would give a stranger a clear idea of the character of Mgr. Connolly and of his work, while those who know the subject of the sketch recognize the fidelity with which the task has been done. An appendix with an account of the jubilee adds much to the value of the pamphlet as a work of reference in future years. The sketch is embellished by a number of portraits of the clergy, views of churches, etc., and the whole is well printed on a fine quality of paper, by Barnes & Co.

The Rev. Dr. Donald, minister of St. Andrew's Kirk, was for more than a score of years prior to 1871 a very prominent and greatly esteemed resident of St. John. He was a type of the fatherly, sympathetic Scotch pastor, yet with a genial nature that made him a welcome guest in society. A man of deep erudition and of simple nature, he was beloved not only by his immediate congregation but by all classes of the people. Some time ago it was felt that a sketch of his

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life and character would be of interest to a large circle of friends, and the preparation of it was accordingly entrusted to Mr. W. K. Reynolds. This sketch has now been printed for private circulation, with the idea that, in addition to what has been gathered and put in shape, much more may be obtained from those who have a knowledge of Dr. Donald and the times in which he lived. The book now issued is a pamphlet of 84 pages, illustrated by several portraits of Dr. Donald. It deals in brief form not only with the subject of the sketch, but to some extent with St. John and its people in the past. It is for the readers to say how far the writer has been able to accomplish his task within the limited space. The object of the present publication, as already stated, is to secure further information with a view to a subsequent enlarged edition of the book, and those who have any facts on this line are requested to communicate with Mr. Louis Donald, Box 125, Mobile, Ala., where the pamphlet has been printed.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

QUESTIONS.

13 From what is the word "aboideau" derived, and where did it originate?

14. Who can give particulars of "the Brazilians" in St. John, in the twenties or early thirties? They were people who went to Brazil from some part of Great Britain, were disappointed in their expectations, and on their return voyage, reached St. John sick with fever. They were quarantined at Ballast wharf and some of them consequently settled in St. John.

A. G. B.

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15. What was the date of the opening of the railway between St. John and Sussex? A. H.

16. In what year was the steam fog alarm inaugerated at Partridge Island, and was it, as alleged, the first steam fog alarm in the world?

17. Can any reader give an account of the riot, or disturbance, that took place at Miramichi about 1844, and which required military intervention?

S. D. S.

18. Who can supply any information about the fire ship or phantom light in the vicinity or Pictou Island, N. S.?

19. Who built the aboideau at the St. John marsh, and at what period was it constructed.

C. W.

20. Who can give any information about the early grist mills at Marsh Bridge, and what was the date of the construction of the Hazen grist mill, on Mill street, St. John? P.

ANSWERS.

10. "Malagash" is locally said to mean "milky," in the Indian tongue, and the supposition is that this applies to the appearance of the water when disturbed by a storm. I have doubts as to this, and would be glad to have an explanation from one more learned on the subject. C. D. L.

11. The name of the parish of Queensbury is derived from the fact that the parish was settled by disbanded soldiers of the Queen's Rangers.

12. Booth, the elder was in St. John in June, 1841, and I saw him play the leading part in "The Iron Chest" at the Hopley Theatre, Golden Ball corner. After the play he came to the front and announced that the next performance would be for the benefit of "your humble servant," as he styled himself.

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He had two boys with him on the stage when he made this announcement, but I do not know their names, though I believe they were his sons. A. G. B.

PROVINCIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following are a few additions of old and new books relating to the provinces, which are either not noted in the already published "New Brunswick Bibliography," or which are noted in that book and concerning which further information is given. It is hoped that readers of THE MAGAZINE generally will aid as contributors to this department from month to month. In the case of books which relate to New Brunswick, the notes sent should be in the line already mentioned—new books or information about old ones and their authors. In respect to the other Maritime Provinces, of which there is no published bibliography, all information is of value, especially that relating to old and rare works.

In sending notes of books, please follow the style given below. Quote the name of the author as it is given on the title page, adding any other information as to his personality and work. Copy the title page itself, with date, describe binding in brief form, give the number of pages and mention maps or illustrations. To this necessary description may be appended any further facts as to the character of the book and its relation to the Maritime Provinces.

HUMBERT, STEPHEN. (N. B. Bibliography, p. 46.)

The fourth edition of "The Union Harmony" was published in 1840, and was a book of 338 pages.

STUBS, PETER, St. John, barrister and journalist.

The New Brunswick Manual; a compilation of Forms and information designed for the use of Justices

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of the Peace, Merchants, Mechanics, &c. St. John, N. B., published by D. McMillan, 1841; pp. 136.

WARK, HON. DAVID, of Fredericton, the oldest senator of Canada, born in Ireland in 1804 and a resident of New Brunswick since 1825. "He has written on behalf of Imperial Federation, on Reciprocity of Trade between Canada and the United States, and also on 'The Future of Canada and its Relation to the British Empire', 1894." (Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time.)

Report of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, by Hon. David Wark, Henry Fisher, Joel Reading, George E. Fenety, James McFarlane, Commissioners Appointed to inquire into the Management of the Light Houses, Provincial Penitentiary, Provincial Lunatic Asylum, and the Marine Hospital. 1858, St. John, N. B., Chubb & Co., 1859. Paper, sm 8°, pp. 16.

(This is one branch of the report of a commission appointed by resolution of the Legislature in 1857 to make inquiry into the management of various institutions receiving provincirl aid, "with a view, if possible, of reducing the expenses of maintaining the same." This was one of the undertakings of the reform government which had then come into power. The full report is contained in the Journals of the House of Assembly for 1858-9. W. K. R.)

DUNN, HON. A. T., Surveyor General of New Brunswick.

Gun and Rod in New Brunswick. Where Moose, Caribou and Deer, Wild Birds, Salmon and Trout are found, and how the Sportsman can easily reach them. Issued by the Crown Land Department of the Province of New Brunswick. St. John, N. B., 1898. Paper, 24°, pp. 152. Map. (Vide Reynolds, W. K., and Smith, D. G.)

GAYNOR, REV. WM. C., of the Church of St. John

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the Baptist, St. John, N. B. (Vide N. B. Bibliography, p. 34).

Fifty Years a Priest. A Biographical Sketch of The Very Reverend Monsignor Thomas Connolly, Vicar General. During Fifty Years of His Priesthood. Dedicated to Him on the Occasion of his Sacerdotal Jubilee, by the Priests of the Diocese who have had the Privilege of Serving under Him as Assistants. St. John, N. B., Barnes & Co., printers, 1898. Paper, 8°, pp. 43 : xix. Portraits and illustrations.

REYNOLDS, WILLIAM KILBY. (Vide N. B. Bibliography. p. 96.)

Big Game in New Brunswick. A Sportsman's Guide to the Principal Hunting Grounds in the Province. Prepared for the Crown Land Department of the Province of New Brunswick, pp. 1 to 72. The whole pamphlet consists of 152 pp., 24°, and was prepared for the Sportsman's Show in Boston in March, 1898. The latter portion, on River Fishing and Game Birds, was prepared by David G. Smith, Fishery Commissioner. (Vide Dunn, Hon. A. T., and Smith, D. G.

The Rev. William Donald, D. D., of St. Andrew's Church, St. John, N. B. A Sketch of His Life and Character, Prepared for Private Circulation. Mobile, Ala., 1898. Paper, 8°, pp. 84. Four portraits and facsimiles of verses.

SMITH, DAVID G., Chatham, N. B., Fishery Commissioner of New Brunswick.

River Fishing and Game Birds in New Brunswick. (A report of the commissioner, prepared by direction of Hon. A. T. Dunn, Surveyor General, and incorporated in Gun and Rod in New Brunswick, a pamphlet of 152 pp., 24°, prepared by the provincial government for the Sportsman's Show in Boston, March, 1898. The Commissioner's report is contained in pp. 77—149. Vide Dunn, Hon. A. T., and Reynolds, W. K.)

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The New Brunswick Magazine

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The New Brunswick Magazine.

VOL. I. OCTOBER, 1898. No. 4

OUR FIRST FAMILIES.

Second Paper.

First on the list of names in the census of 1671, if we take them alphabetically, is Aucoin, and this without doubt is one of the oldest in Acadia. There was no male head of a family of that name when the census was taken, François Aucoin having been dead a year or two, leaving a widow 26 years old and five children, two sons and three daughters. The widow Aucoin probably understated her age, for her oldest child was 12, and if she was only 26 in 1671, this child must have been born when she was only 14. She, I think, was Ann Blanchard, a daughter of Jean Blanchard, another of the ancient inhabitants of the country. The father and mother of the deceased François Aucoin were both dead, or had removed from Acadia, but two of his sisters were residents of Port Royal and married. Michelle, the oldest sister, born in 1620, was the wife of Michael Boudrot, who was lieutenant general or judge at Port Royal; while Jeanne, another sister, was married to François Girouard. Both these women had families; Michelle must have been married as early as 1640, or perhaps earlier, while Jeanne's marriage took

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place not later than 1646. The first of these dates is within four or five years of the original emigration of the ancestors of the Acadian people from France, so that both the sisters must have been born in that country and come out with their parents in 1635 or 1636.

The line of Aucoin in Acadia was, in 1671, depending on the lives of two small children, sons of the deceased François—Jérôme, aged 7 years, and François, aged 2. The widow Aucoin was only moderately prosperous, and she removed from Port Royal to Mines, the new settlement which had just been established there by Pierre Terriau, Claude and Antoine Landry and René leBlanc. When the census of 1686 was taken there was no one of the name of Aucoin at Port Royal, the family being at Mines, which continued to be their residence for the next sixty or seventy years. Among the Acadian families gathered under the protection of the fort of Beausejour in 1752 were three named Aucoin, two from Memramcook and one from Shepody. But the principal home of the family was always at Mines, the richest settlement in Acadia. When the Acadians were deported from the country in 1755 there were among them nineteen families of the name of Aucoin who had been residents of Grand Pré, Mines, Rivers Canard and Habitant and places adjacent. All these unfortunate people were carried away to the English colonies to the south, and many of them never returned. There are now only about one hundred families of the name of Aucoin in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, nearly all of whom are in the county of Inverness, Cape Breton. Five families of that name reside in the county of Northumberland and five in the Magdalen Islands.

The Aucoins were not as prominent in Acadia as some other families of less antiquity. The deputies

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elected by the residents of the several Acadian settlements to conduct their affairs with the English at Annapolis were usually the leading men of the place, but the name Aucoin seldom appears among them. In 1749 Renanchon Aucoin was accused of joining with the Indians in the attack which they made in December of that year on the fort at Mines, which was held by a garrison under Capt. Handfield. This Aucoin was described as a resident of the River de Gembert at Piziquid. The same year Pierre Aucoin was employed as a messenger by Governor Cornwallis to carry letters to the Acadians at Cobequid, and the priest and deputies at that place were summoned before the council at Halifax for detaining him.

Michael Boudrot was 71 years old when the census of 1671 was taken; his wife was Michelle Aucoin, aged 50, and they had eleven children, seven sons and four daughters. The oldest son was François, aged 29, who was still unmarried. The second son Charles, aged 22, was also unmarried. All the sons lived at home with their parents, but two of the daughters, Margaret and Jeanne, were married and had homes of their own. Margaret was the wife of François Bourc, whose age was 28. She had two children, a boy of five years and a girl. Jeanne had become the wife of Bonaventure Terriau, and had one child, a girl. Michael Boudrot occupied a most important position in the colony, for he was its judge in civil and criminal cases. He had held this office for many years, and only gave it up when he had attained the great age of 88 and had become unable to perform the duties of his position. What these duties were may be gathered from the instructions to his successor, Des Goutins, who was told to prevent law suits as far as possible, to settle all differences amicably, to act in concert with the governor, not to pass

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sentences unless where it was necessary to the safety and peace of families, and to discourage appeals to Quebec as ruinous to suitors. Boudrot must have been married about the year 1640, or within four years of the arrival of the first colonists, and he was a contemporary both of d'Aulnay and LaTour.

When the census of 1686 was taken, Michael Boudrot was still residing at Port Royal, but only two of his children were then with him. There were Michelle, a daughter aged 26, and François aged 20. His son Jean, who had married Margaret Bourgeois, had removed to Chignecto and had died there leaving one daughter Marie, who was nine years old when the census of 1686 was taken. Marie, the third daughter, was also a resident of Chignecto, having become the wife of Michael Poirier in 1673. Other members of his family had taken up their abode at Mines, which soon became the most prosperous of the Acadian settlements. In 1730, when Governor Phillips induced the Acadians to sign an oath of allegiance, three persons of the name of Boudrot, who were residing at Annapolis, subscribed their names to that document. These were François, Michael and Charles. At that time, however, most of the Acadians bearing the name of Boudrot were at Mines, although a few had gone to other parts of Acadia. In 1752, among the Acadians gathered under the protection of Beausejour, were six families of that name, of whom two had been residents of Cobequid, two of LaButte, one of Mines and one of Napan. In 1755, when the Acadians of Mines were deported by Winslow, there were 25 families named Boudrot among the exiles, some of whom were wealthy. Joseph Broudrot, for instance, was the owner of 34 horned cattle, 70 sheep, 18 hogs and two horses. Pierre Boudrot had 27 horned cattle, 55 sheep, 13 hogs and three horses. Several other members of the Boudrot

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family were quite as well off as Pierre, and in fact they were all in good circumstances. These figures will serve to show the prosperous character of the people of Mines at the time of their removal from Acadia. The 482 families in Winslow's list, numbering in all 2,743 persons, were the owners of 5,007 cattle, 8,690 sheep, 4,197 hogs and 493 horses. It would be difficult to find anywhere a community of farmers so prosperous and wealthy.

The name Boudrot, in its ancient form, does not now exist in New Brunswick, but there are about 150 families of that name in the counties of Inverness and Richmond, Cape Breton. In this province, however, there are 350 families who spell their name Boudreau, and these people, I have no doubt, are descendants of Michael Boudrot, judge at Port Royal. About 150 families named Boudreau reside in Gloucester, and the same number in Westmorland. There are 70 families of the name in Digby and Yarmouth and 50 in the Magdalen Islands. Assuming Boudreau to be the same name as Boudrot, there are now upwards of 800 families in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia who are descended from the old Acadian judge.

Jacob Bourgeois, whose name stands first on the census list of 1671, was then 50 years old. From his profession of a surgeon he would naturally be the most important secular person in the settlement, after the governor and the judge. His wife was Jeanne Trahan, whom we may safely assume to have been a sister of William Trahan, the farrier, who in 1671 was 60 years old. Both Jacob Bourgeois and his wife must have been natives of France, and the former must have been educated there to qualify him for his profession. He was doubtless the son of Jacques Bourgeois, who has been already referred to as the brother-in-law of LaVerdure, and who in 1654 became a hostage with

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the English, for the fulfilment of the conditions of the surrender of Port Royal. Jacques Bourgeois is described in the articles of surrender as "lieutenant of the place," viz.: the fort of Port Royal, so that he held an official position in the little colony, probably that of judge. He was also a witness to the marriage contract between La Tour and Madame d'Aulnay, in February 1653. Jacques Bourgeois was probably one of the settlers originally brought out by de Razilly, and both Jacques and Jacob Bourgeois were contemporaries of d'Aulnay, who met his death by drowning in 1650. This fact is proved by a letter written by M. de la Touche at Port Royal in 1702, in which the sale of a piece of land by d'Aulnay to Jacob Bourgeois is mentioned. But Jacob Bourgeois has higher claims to be remembered in Acadian history than from his acquaintance with La Tour's enemy, for he was the founder of the Chignecto settlement, the parent of the great community which now occupies the most fertile land in Westmorland and Cumberland. In a letter written from Port Royal in 1702, to the French minister, Des Goutin, referring to the Chignecto settlement, says, "It was the late Jacob Bourgeois who led there the first settlers, when the Chevalier de Grand-Fontaine commanded at Pentagoët, and Pierre Arseneau took others there some time after." Two of the sons of Jacob Bourgeois, Charles and Germain, and two of his daughters, Marie and Margaret, settled at Chignecto, as may be seen by the census of 1686, and this census also gives an intimation of a tragedy in the Bourgeois family, the nature of which I have been unable to ascertain. The census of 1671 shows that Marie Bourgeois was then married to Pierre Sire, armorer, and that she had one child, Jean, who was three months old. Before the census of 1686 was taken she had became a widow, and had contracted a second

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marriage with Germain Girouard, who was four years her junior. Three children of the first marriage and two of the second were living with her in 1686. The ages of these children would seem to show that the first husband died about the year 1679. Margaret Bourgeois, who was only 13 when the census of 1671 was taken, married Jean Boudrot about the year 1676 and became a widow two or three years later. She made a second marriage in 1680 to Manuel Miranda, a native of Portugal, and when the census of Chignecto was taken, in 1686, she had there living with her one child of her first marriage and four of her second. Charles Bourgeois was married to Anne Dugast when the census of 1671 was taken and had one child, a girl. The census of 1686 shows that he had died about the year 1679, leaving three children, and that his widow had married Jean Aubin Mignault by whom she had, when the census was taken, three children. Now the deaths of three brothers-in-law in the same year could hardly have been brought about by ordinary means, for they were all young men wh n their lives ended. The circumstances. suggest that they met a common fate and lost their lives as the result of an accident. This conjecture derives further support from the fact that there was another woman living at Chignecto in 1686 who had lost her husband in 1679. This was Andrée Martin, who when the census of 1671 was taken was married to François Pélerin and had three children. In 1686 François Pélerin was dead, but six of his children were living with her, and she had married Pierre Mercier by whom she then had four children. I have no doubt that François Pélerin shared the fate of Charles Bourgeois, Pierre Sire and Jean Boudrot, and the same accident, whatever it may have been, brought all their lives to an end. Perhaps some future historian of Westmorland county may be able to throw light on

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this subject. The prompt manner in which the four widows of Chignecto secured for themselves new life partners is worthy of notice, and shows that marriageable young women were not a drug on the market in ancient Acadia.

Germain Bourgeois was 21 years old and unmarried when the census of 1671 was taken. In 1686 he was a resident of Chignecto. He was married to Michelle Dugas in 1673, and had four children, the oldest being William, aged 12 years. Germain Bourgeois continued a resident of Chignecto, but he had returned to Port Royal to visit his son William at Annapolis for, in 1711, after the capture of that place by the English, he and his son and two others were imprisoned by the commandant, Col. Vetch, as hostages, and in reprisal for hostility to the English. It is said by Murdoch that Germain died as a result of his ill treatment while in prison, a story we would like not to have to believe. Indeed it is highly improbable, for Paul Mascarene, who was then at Annapolis, says that the hostages were well treated and soon released.

Jacob Bourgeois was dead in 1702, but he was living in July 1699, when he addressed a memorial to the French minister in Paris concerning Acadia. This was written at the fort on the lower St. John, that is to say in Fort La Tour, which had been rebuilt by Villebon. The name of Jacob Bourgeois also appears in a memorial written in October 1687, in which he signed his name as one of the ancient inhabitants of Acadia, with reference to the work that d'Aulnay had done at Port Royal, La Have, Mercier, Ste. Anne and other places in the colony. The other "ancient inhabitants" who signed this memorial with their own hands were François Gauterot, Pierre Martin, Matthieu Martin, Claude Teriot and Philip d'Entremont; while Antoine

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LeBourg, Pierre Doucet, Denis LeBlanc and Abraham Dugast signed with a mark.

There are now about 200 families of the name of Bourgeois in the Maritime Provinces, most of them being residents of Kent and Westmorland, and all descendants of the old judge at Port Royal.

The free and easy way in which the census takers of ancient Acadia spelled the names of the inhabitants is a source of much embarrassment to the student of the history of that time. In the census of 1671 Blanchard is spelled in two different ways, Terriau is similarly treated; and the same is true of other names which will be more particularly referred to hereafter. A notable instance of mis-spelling occurs in connection with the name of Jacques Belou, cooper, who lived at Port Royal in 1671. His wife was Marie Girouard, a daughter of François Girouard, and he had then one child, a girl. The census of 1686 does not contain the name of Belou, either at Port Royal or anywhere else in Acadia, and the natural presumption would be that Mr. Jacques Belou had removed with his family to some other part of the world. A more particular examination of the census of 1686, however, describes Jacques Belou under a new name. He was then a resident of Chignecto but his name has been changed to Blou, which the transposition of a letter in Murdoch's history converts into Blon, so that we would never recognize our old friend under his new name. His wife however, is the same Marie Girouard, and his little daughter Marie has grown to be a young woman of 17. He has now another daughter, Jeanne, who is 5 years old, and a son François 18 months old, who has been named after his grandfather, François Girouard. It is to be feard that little François Belou did not live to manhood, for I am unable to find any further trace of the name in the annals of Acadia.

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The home of the family would be at Chignecto, yet among the hundreds of families gathered under the protection of Beausejour in 1751 and 1752, there is no one of the name of Belou. Neither does the name occur in Winslow's list of the persons deported from Mines in 1755. The name is not now to be found in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, but in Madawaska county are a number of families named Beaulieu which may be a new way of spelling Belou.

JAMES HANNAY.

AT PORTLAND POINT.

Fourth Paper.

In the earlier numbers of the NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE we have traced the story of the founding of the first permanent British settlement on the St. John river. We have seen that, as early as the year 1755, governors Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia and Sir William Shirley of Massachusetts, had agreed on the necessity of establishing a fortified post at the mouth of the river in order to overawe the French and Indians and promote the settlement of the country by English speaking inhabitants. We have seen that in the summer of 1758, after a sharp and decisive battle, the French were driven from their stronghold at the old fort near Navy Island, on the west side of the harbor, which was thenceforth occupied by a British garrison and called Fort Frederick. The French had made some clearances on the hillsides back of the fort which were used as gardens, and a few of the oldest residents of Carleton can remember the time when one or two old cherry trees of large size grew on the site of these gardens and were said to have been planted there in the days of the French occupancy.

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The garrison at Fort Frederick was composed largely of New England troops, and among the officers was Captain Moses Hazen, a brother of William Hazen and a cousin of James Simonds.

Whilst the establishment of a military post at Fort Frederick imparted a little life to the immediate surroundings, everything on the eastern side of the harbor remained in its virgin state, except at Portland Point where there was a small clearing and the remains of a French Fort. The rocky peninsula on which the business part of St. John stands today was uninhabited. The few Acadians who may have lingered round its coves had fled before the advancing tide of British conquest, and it was only when some wandering savage pitched his wigwam on the shores of Men-ah-quesk, as he called it,* that there was any tenant of the spot save the fox, the bear or other wild creature of the primeval forest. The rugged features of the ancient Men-ah-quesk, with its swamps and crags, caused it to be so lightly esteemed in the eyes of the Messrs. Simonds and White that they did not deem it worth the quit rents, although these amounted to but half a cent an acre annually. In the words of Mr. Simonds, it was "the worst of lands, if bogs, morasses and rocks may be called lands." Accordingly, in the grants of 1765 and 1770, it was excluded in favor of the "Marsh" which, in the eyes of the first settlers, was of far greater value.

When the Loyalists arrived in 1783 and learned that this was to be the site of their city, the prospect to some of them seemed appalling. The late Dr. Gove of St. Andrews once related to the writer of this paper how that his grandmother Tilley, having landed at the Upper Cove, climbed up the steep ascent of Chipman's

*In imitation of the Indian word the whites called their settlement at St. John "Menaguashe" for several years after their arrival.

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hill, and after gazing at the surroundings in blank despair, sat down upon the damp moss with her babe in her arms and shed the only tears she had shed since the outbreak of the Revolution.

To the gentler spirits among the Loyalist founders of the town of Parr the outlook may well have seemed disheartening. They had come, many of them, from the fertile banks of the Hudson, the meadow lands of New Jersey, the vineyards of Maryland and the plantations of the Sunny South. But to James Simonds and his associates of 1762, as to many of the Massachusetts and Connecticut Loyalists of 1783, the contrast between their earlier and later surroundings was not so marked. In their veins, too, there flowed the blood of the old Pilgrim fathers, nor had they lost the influence of the traditions handed down from the days of the Mayflower and the landing at Plymouth Rock. The same determined self-reliance that had enabled their forefathers to make for themselves homes about the shores of Massachusetts Bay sustained them in their task of carving out for themselves a home amid the rocky hillsides that surround the harbor of St. John.

But when James Simonds, in 1760, first made up his mind to try his fortune here the place was indeed a lonely spot, and could our old pioneer today revisit the scene of his toils and difficulties and behold the changes time had wrought what would be his wonder and astonishment? Imagine with what mingled feelings he would view the wharves that line our shores; the ocean steamships lying in the channel; the grain elevators that receive the harvests of Canadian wheat-fields two thousand miles away; the streets traversed by electric cars and pavements traversed by thousands of hurrying feet, hundreds of bicyclists darting hither and thither at every corner; squares tastefully laid out and adorned with flowers; public buildings and

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residences of goodly proportions and by no means devoid of beauty; palatial hotels opening their doors to guests from every clime; institutions that care for the fatherless and the widow, the aged, the poor, the unfortunate, the sick, the insane; churches with their heaven-directing spires; schools whose teachers are numbered by the hundred and pupils by the thousand; public libraries, courts of justice and public offices; factories of every sort and description; business establishments whose accredited agents find their way into every nook and corner of old time Acadie; railways and steamboats that connect the city with all parts of the globe; splendid bridges that span the rocky gorge at the mouth of the river where twice in the course of every twenty-four hours the battle, old as the centuries, rages between the outpouring torrent of the mighty St. John and the inflowing tide of the Bay of Fundy.

Our old pioneers of 1762 would scarcely recognize the ancient landmarks; the ruggedness of old Men-ah-quesk is gone—valleys filled up and hills cut down. The mill pond where the old tide mill stood has disappeared, and the splendid Union depot with its long freight sheds and maze of railway tracks occupies its place. All that survives is nothing but a name and "Mill" street and "Pond" street alone remain to tell of what has been. The old grist mill at Lily Lake, too, has gone, and the patrimony of Hazen and Simonds in that vicinity would hardly be recognized by its original proprietors. They were the pioneers of the improvements made in that locality, but we can hardly claim that it was for the benefit of the public of our day that they laid out the first road to Rockwood Park.

Then and now! For the better appreciation of the astonishing changes time has brought about suppose we contrast a modern Saturday night with one in

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the infancy of our city, and we will take the old one first :—

Saturday night in the year 1764.—The summer sun sinks behind the western hills and the glow of the evening lights the harbor. At the landing place at Portland Point one or two fishing boats are lying on the beach, and out a little from the shore a small square sterned schooner lies at her anchor. The natural lines of the harbor are clearly seen. In many places the forest has crept down nearly to the water's edge. Wharves and shipping there are none. Ledges of rock, long since removed, crop up here and there along the harbor front. The silence falls as the days' work is ended at the little settlement, and the sound of the waters rushing through the falls seems, in the absence of other sounds, unnaturally predominant. Eastward from Portland Point we see the crags and rocks of Men-ah-quesk, their ruggedness in some measure hidden by the growth of dark spruce and graceful cedar, and in the foreground lies the graceful curve of the Upper Cove where the forest fringes the water's edge. We may easily cross in the canoe of some friendly Indian and land where, ten years later, the Loyalists landed, but we shall find there no one to welcome us. The spot is desolate, and the stillness is only broken by the occasional cry of some wild animal, the song of the bird in the forest and the ripple of the waves on the shore. The shadows deepen as we return to the Point, and soon the little windows of the settlers' houses begin to glow. There are no curtains to draw or blinds to pull down or shutters to close in these humble dwellings, but the light, though unobstructed, shines but feebly, for it is only the feeble glimmer of a tallow candle that we see, or perhaps the flickering of the firelight from the open chimney that dances on the pane.

In the homes of the settlers' Saturday night differs

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not so very much from any other night. The head of the house is not concerned about the marketing or telephoning to his grocer. The maid is not particulary anxious to go "down town." The family bath tub may be produced, (and on Monday morning it will be used for the family washing) but the hot water will not be drawn from the tap. The family retire at an early hour, nor are their slumbers likely to be disturbed by fire alarm or midnight train. And yet in the olden times the men, we doubt not, were wont to meet on Saturday nights at the little store at the Point to compare notes and to talk over the few topics of interest in their rather monotonous lives. We seem to see them *now*, a little coterie, nearly all of them engaged in the Company's employ—mill hands, fishermen, lime burners, laborers, while in a corner James White pores over his ledger, posting his accounts by the dim light of his candle and now and again mending his goose quill pen. But even at the store the cheerful company soon disperses ; the early closing system evidently prevails, the men seek their several abodes and one by one the lights in the little windows vanish. There is only one thing to prevent the entire population from being in good time for church on Sunday morning, and that is there isn't any church for them to attend.

Then and now ! We turn from our contemplation of Saturday night as we have imagined it in 1764 to look for a moment at a modern Saturday night in the city of St. John. What contrast greater can be imagined ? Where once were dismal shades of woods and swamps we have a moving gaily chattering crowd, a mass of living humanity that throngs the walks of Union, King and Charlotte streets. The feeble glimmer of the tallow candle from the windows of the houses of the few settlers at Portland Point has given place to the blaze of hundreds of electric lights that

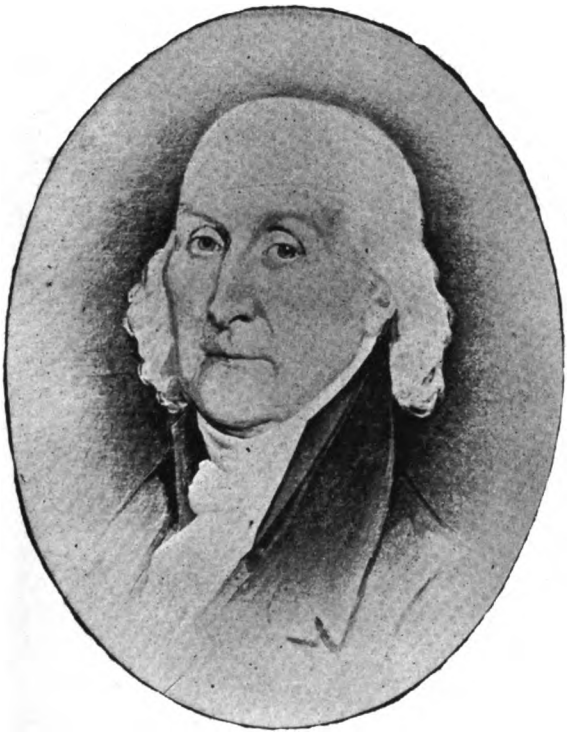
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shine far out to sea, twinkling like bright stars in the distance, and reflected from the heavens, illuminating the country for miles around. Our little knot of villagers in the olden days used to gather in their one little store to discuss the days doings; small was the company and narrow was their field of observation; and their feeble gossip is today replaced by the rapid click of the telegraph instruments, the rolling of the steam-driven printer's press and the cry of the newsboy at every corner; the events of all the continents are proclaimed in our streets almost as soon as they occur.

And yet, from all the luxury and ease as well as from the anxiety and care of this busy energetic nineteenth century life, we sometimes like to escape and get a little nearer to the heart of nature; we like to adopt a life of rural simplicity, content for a brief space with some little cottage remote from the bustle and din of city life; practically to approach as nearly as we can to the primitive life of Portland Point in the year 1764. True, we soon tire of it and long for our substantial comforts and conveniences again.

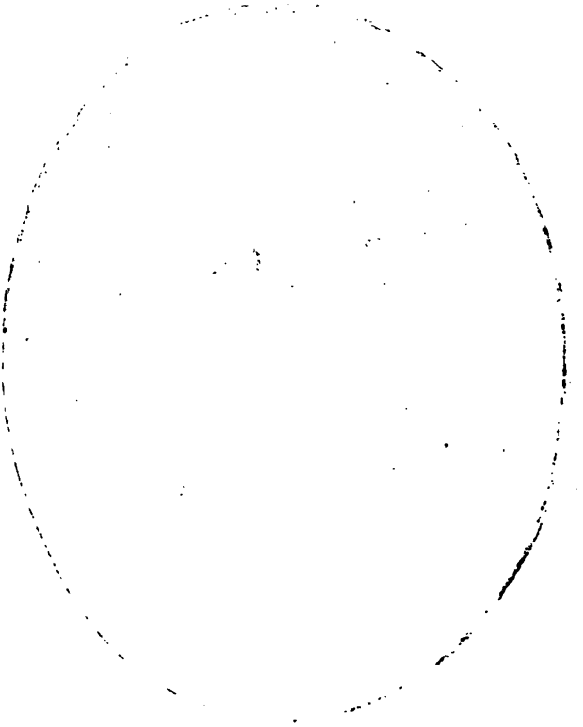
But it is high time to "hark back" to our story of the early history of St. John. To the writer, if not to the reader, it is much more enjoyable to find ideas in the field of imagination than to dig and delve amidst the musty records of the past; nevertheless in the realm of history what we want are facts, and to facts the element of romance must be subservient. And as facts are wanted it may be well here to amend the statement, made in the first paper of this series, that James Simonds was a descendant of Samuel Simonds of Essex, England, who came to America in 1630 with Governor Winthrop. Mr. C. E. A. Simonds of Fredericton, who has made a pretty thorough investigation of the genealogy of the Simonds family in America, says :—

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Jas. Simmons

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"The most remote ancestor to whom we can with certainty trace our descent is William Simonds, who in the year 1644 settled at Woburn, Massachussets. The statement that James Simonds was descended from Samuel Simonds of Essex, England, is improbable, though it was long thought correct in our family. Samuel had a son William, but his career is different from our ancestor's of that name, and it is asserted that no male descendants of Samuel Simonds, Deputy Governor of Massachusetts, now exist."

The maiden name of the wife of William Simonds was Judith Phippen who came to America in the ship Planter,* which sailed from London April 2nd, 1635. There is a story that as the Planter was nearing the American coast, land was first descried by Judith Phippen which proved to be the now well known head land called Point Judith.

In the year 1643 Judith Phippen became the wife of William Simonds. They settled at Woburn, Mass., and built a house, which, when Mr. C. E. A. Simonds visited the place in 1888, was still standing. Here their twelve children were born, of whom the tenth, James, was grandfather of James Simonds, our old pioneer at Portland Point. The elder James Simonds married Susanna Blogget, (Blodget) and their sixth child, Nathan, married Sarah Hazen of Haverhill, February 24, 1735. The family of Nathan Simonds consisted of two sons, James and Richard, and two daughters, Mary and Sarah. The family lived at Haverhill until the death of the father, Nathan Simonds, in 1757. James Simonds, who was the eldest of the family, was born at Haverhill Dec. 10, 1735. He

*There came to America in the Planter the ancestors of several well known families, descendants of some of whom are living in New Brunswick today. Included in the number we find the names of Lieut. Francis Peabody of St. Albans. Allan Perley of Wales. William Beardsley, his wife Maria, daughter Maria and son John, Thomas Carter, M. A., James Hayward, John and William Lawrence, William Reed, Moses Cleveland, Joseph Tuttle, Nicholas Davis, William Locke and Rev. Hugh Peters.

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joined one of the Provincial regiments when a young man, and in 1757 or 1758, went with his cousin, Capt. John Hazen, to take part in the attack on Fort Ticonderoga. After the death of his father and the settlement of his estate, the means at the disposal of James Simonds were inconsiderable, and he accordingly was induced by the proclamations published by Governor Lawrence about this time, offering special inducements to the New Englanders to become settlers in Nova Scotia, to visit the Bay of Fundy, and after a pretty thorough exploration of its shores, to take up his residence at St. John. At the time of his father's death, James Simonds was appointed guardian of his brother Richard and sister Sarah, both of them being minors, and they seem to have accompanied him to St. John. Richard Simonds died at St. John, January 20, 1765, but Sarah Simonds was living there in February 1770, as is evident from an entry in one of the old account books in the hand writing of James White, in which sundry dress goods are charged to James Simonds and marked, "D'ld his sister Sally."*

The story of the organizing of St. John's first trading company in 1764, has been already related in this series of papers. The leading spirits of the company were William Hazen, James Simonds and James White. Mr. Hazen did not, it is true, take up his residence at Portland Point until the year 1775, and therefore he has as yet been only mentioned incidentally; he was, however, from the first a very active and important member of the company and its chief financial backer; more will be said of him hereafter.

The same spirit of enterprise that characterizes St. John today was conspicuous in those who first

*Among the items in the old account books relating to Mr. Simonds' family is one under date February 22, 1773, which reads, "James Simonds, Dr. To leather for pr. boys shoes, 4 years old." The boy referred to was James Simonds, Jr., the oldest child of Mr. Simonds, born Aug. 8, 1768.

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settled here, for we have seen that Messrs. Simonds and White, soon after their arrival, engaged in the manufacture and shipment of lime, pursued the fishery at various points in the Bay of Fundy, established an extensive trade in furs and peltries with the Indians, furnished supplies to the garrison at Fort Frederick, erected a saw mill and grist mill, built and launched a schooner, constructed weirs, supplied the settlers at Maugerville and St. Anns with such things as they required, and maintained regular communication with Newburyport and Boston by means of the vessels they owned or chartered.

The coming of so considerable a number of white settlers to the River St. John in the course of two or three years after the issuing of Governor Lawrence's proclamations, rendered it necessary that measures should be adopted for the government of the new community. The original province of Nova Scotia had been divided into counties in the year 1759 at which time the entire province of New Brunswick seems to have been an unorganized part of the County of Cumberland. For the first year or two the settlements on the river St. John were obliged to look to Halifax for the regulation of their civil affairs, but this proved so inconvenient that the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia agreed to the establishment of the St. John river district as a new county, under the name of the County of Sunbury. This county did not, as has been been commonly supposed, include the whole of the province of New Brunswick. Its eastern boundary was a line running due north from a point on the shore of the Bay of Fundy twenty miles east of Mispec point, so that the eastern part of the present province of New Brunswick remained a part of the county of Cumberland until the division of the old province of Nova Scotia in 1784.

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As a leader of the little colony at St. John and a man of ability and good education, James Simonds played a not unimportant part in the organization of the new county, and he went to Halifax several times to attend to matters of public interest as well as his own private affairs. The journey in those days was no trifling matter. He very nearly lost his life on one occasion while proceeding across the Bay to Windsor in an open boat. His experience is thus described in a letter to Samuel Blodget, written from Halifax the 1st day of October, 1764.

"Last night arrived here after four days' passage from St. John's—the first 24 hours at sea in a severe storm, the second passed a place called the Masquerades, where there was seas and whirlpools enough to have foundered the largest ships, but were providentially saved with only the loss of all our road chain and anchor by endeavoring to ride at anchor till the tide slacked, (in vain). It was unlucky for us that we happened to fall in with that tremendous place in the strength of the flood tide in the highest spring tide that has been this year. Gentlemen here say it is presumptuous to attempt to return that way at this season of the year in an open boat, but as the boat and men is at Pisiquit,* and I have no other way to get to St. Johns in season for my business this fall; shall get our business done here as soon as may be and return there the same way I came, where I hope to meet some of our vessels. The plea of the above difficulty will have a greater weight than any other to have business finished here immediately. This morning I waited on the Governor, Secretary and all other officers concerned in granting license, &c., who assure me that my request respecting license shall be granted directly, so that I hope to be on my way to St. Johns tomorrow."

We cannot but admire the enterprise and courage of a man who after so fatiguing and perilous a journey, was ready, on the second day after his arrival in Halifax, to remount his horse and travel some forty-five miles over a rough road to Windsor and face once more the the perils of the Bay of Fundy in an open boat.

Mr. Simonds revisited Halifax early the next spring, and on his arrival wrote a letter to Wm. Hazen, dated March 18, 1765, in which he says, "I am just arrived here on the business of the inhabitants of

*Now called Windsor.

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St. Johns." He mentions in this letter that Capt. Beamsley Glazier was also at Halifax. This gentleman we shall presently have occasion to refer to more particularly. He and Mr. Simonds seem to have united in the endeavor to secure the speedy establishment of a new county on the River St. John. The success of their efforts is announced in Mr. Simonds' letter to Mr. Hazen, in which he writes, "St. Johns is made a county and I hope will soon make a formidable appearance." This announcement slightly anticipated the action of the Governor and Council, for it was not until about six weeks later, viz., on April 30, 1765, that the matter was carried into effect by the passing of the following resolution:—"Resolved, That St. Johns River should be erected into a County by the name of Sunbury, and likewise that Capt. Richard Smith should be appointed a Justice of the Peace for the County of Halifax."

The terms of this resolution are suggestive of the idea that, in the estimation of his Excellency and the Council of Nova Scotia, the appointment of a Halifax justice of the peace was about as important a matter as the organization of the county of Sunbury, albeit the latter comprehended a territory as large as the entire peninsula of Nova Scotia.

The late Thos. B. Akins, of Halifax, who was an extremely accurate and painstaking investigator and a recognized authority on all points of local history, in a letter * to the late J. W. Lawrence states that the election writs on file at Halifax show that Capt. Beamsley Glazier and Capt. Thomas Falconer were, in 1765, elected the first representatives of the County of Sunbury. It does not, however, appear that either of these gentlemen attended the sessions of the House of Assembly, and as it was the rule that members who

*This letter is in my possession.—W. O. R.

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failed to attend and take the customary oath for two sessions after their election should forfeit their seats for non-attendance, a new election was held in 1768, when Richard Shorne and Phinehas Nevers were returned. The House of Assembly was dissolved two years later, and at the ensuing general election *, Charles Morris, jr., and Israel Perley were chosen to represent the county of Sunbury. The former took his seat, but Mr. Perley appears never to have done so, and in 1773 James Simonds was elected in his stead. Mr. Simonds was in attendance at the session held in October, 1774, being the first resident of the county to take his seat in the legislative halls of Nova Scotia. At the time of the division of the province in the year 1784 the other member for the county was William Davidson.

Just why the new county was called Sunbury no one seems to know. The name was given by Governor Montagu Wilmot and his Council, but for what reason or upon whose suggestion does not appear.

About this time public attention began to be largely directed to the vacant lands on the river St. John with the result, as already pointed out, that the Nova Scotia government was beset with applications for grants.

Among the more ambitious projects set on foot was that of an association or society, composed of more than sixty individuals who designed to secure and settle well nigh half a million acres of land. The association included a Royal governor, † a number of army officers and prominent civic officials, at least three clergymen and several well to do private gentlemen. A very wide field was represented by the association, for among its members were residents of

*This was the fourth parliament of Nova Scotia. It held sixteen sessions without a dissolution and may well be termed a "long parliament."

†Thomas Hutchinson, governor of the then province of Massachusetts Bay.

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Quebec, Halifax, Boston, New York and the Kingdom of Ireland. A little later the association was commonly known as the Canada Company, probably on account of the fact that General Haldimand and others of its influential members lived in Quebec. James Simonds, William Hazen and Capt. Moses Hazen were members of the company, and in the end they derived considerable advantage from their connection with it, although this was not the experience of the majority. A very brief sketch of the fortunes of the company may not be uninteresting, and it involves the story of the old townships.

Capt. Beamsley P. Glazier, on Dec. 14, 1764, memorialized the Governor and Council at Halifax on behalf of himself, Capt. Thos. Falconer and their associates, for a large tract of land on the St. John river, the location of which was somewhat indefinitely described. Application was also made for a point or neck of land three quarters of a mile from Fort Frederick with sixty acres of land adjoining it, "for the making and curing of fish." The point referred to may have been Reed's Point, but more probably Sand Point or York Point, indeed it is possible that the intention was to secure the entire peninsula on which Parr town was afterwards built. The council ordered that the lands on the river should be reserved for the applicants, but that the sixty acres adjoining, or within three-quarters of a mile from Fort Frederick, should be a matter for future determination.

At this time the unfortunate government officials were almost overwhelmed by the pressure brought to bear on them by innumerable applicants desirous of obtaining their grants before the obnoxious Stamp Act should come into operation. Grants were hastily prepared and issued, so much so that in some cases it was found the same lands had been included in different

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grants. The bounds too were ill defined, no proper survey having been made, and the difficulties afterwards arising out of disputed boundaries furnished a not unprofitable employment for the lawyers of the next half-century.

The Canada Company were so fortunate as to obtain the grant of five fine large townships, containing in the aggregate more than 400,000 acres. Three of the townships, namely, Burton, Gage and Conway, were granted October 18, 1765, the other two, Sunbury and New Town, on October 31, 1765. The predominance of the military element in the company is clearly seen in the naming of the first three townships—Burton in honor of Brig. Gen'l Ralph Burton *; Gage, or Gage Town, in honor of General Thomas Gage (himself a principal grantee); and Conway in honor of General Henry S. Conway, then lately appointed His Majesty's Secretary of State. The township of Sunbury was, of course, quite distinct from the county of the same name.

The location of the townships may be thus roughly stated:—

1. Conway lay on the west side of the river St. John, and extended from the harbor up the river as far as Brandy Point, including in its bounds the parish of Lancaster and part of Westfield.

2. Gage extended from Otnabog to Swan Creek, and included the present parish of Gagetown.

3. Burton extended from Swan Creek to the Oromocto river, and included the present parish of Burton and part of Blissville.

4. Sunbury began at "Old Mill creek," a little below Fredericton, extending up the river as far as Long's Creek and including the city of Fredericton, the parish of New Maryland and the parish of Kingsclear.

*A friend and contemporary of Generals Gage and Haldimand.

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5. New Town lay on the east side of the St. John opposite Fredericton, extending from the Sunbury and York county line about eight miles up the river, and including parts of the parishes of St. Mary's and Douglas.

Among the proprietors of the townships were Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, governor of Massachussetts, Sir William Johnson, General Frederick Haldimand, Col. Beamsley Glazier, Capt. Thomas Falconer, Capt. Isaac Caton, Capt. William Spry, Capt. Moses Hazen, Rev. John Ogilvie, Rev. Philip Hughes, Rev. Curryl Smyth, Richard Shorne, Charles Morris, jr., Samuel Jean Holland, John Fenton, Philip John Livingston, Daniel Claus, Wm. Hazen and James Simonds. Incidental references will be made to some of these gentlemen hereafter. Capt. Isaac Caton has been already mentioned (in the first paper) as an early trader and fisherman; an island in the Long Reach a few miles below Oak Point still bears his name.

Thomas Falconer, Beamsley P. Glazier and Richard Shorne were perhaps the most active agents in the attempts made to settle the townships sufficiently to prevent their forfeiture..

It was while these gentlemen were thus engaged that they had the honor to be chosen by the inhabitants as their representatives in the general Assembly of Nova Scotia. The only other members of the company who possessed any local knowledge of the lands contained in the five townships were Charles Morris, jr., Surveyor General of Nova Scotia, who frequently visited the river and had made an excellent map of it as early as 1765, Capt. William Spry, the chief engineer at Halifax, and the Messrs. Hazen, Simonds and White. The story of the old townships and their ultimate fate must be reserved for the next number of this magazine.

W. O. RAYMOND.

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THE YEAR OF THE FEVER.

The story of the year of the ship fever in Canada is one not to be told in the brief compass of a magazine paper, nor can I attempt to do more than sketch some of its more notable features in the ravages of the pestilence among the immigrants bound to the port of St. John alone. The graves of the thousands of victims of disease and want in that year are found at widely separated points in Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, while the bones of an army of unfortunates lie scattered along the bed of the ocean in the track of the ships bound westward across the sea from Ireland. It was one of the most dreadful visitations ever suffered by a people, and one of the saddest reflections regarding it is that the horrors of it were largely due to the selfishness and inhumanity of man. A repetition of the pestilence, attended by the same appalling conditions, would not be possible today in any civilized nation of of the earth; not that the world is any better, perhaps, but that half a century has seen a revolution in sanitary science, that the ocean passage has been marvellously abridged, and that it is no longer possible for even cattle to be carried on a voyage under conditions as horrible as were experienced by tens of thousands of human beings in the memorable year of the ship fever.

To discuss the causes of the suffering and mortality would be foreign to the purpose of this paper. Some things were preventible, some were not. Certainly, there was no lack of sympathy and aid from both sides of the ocean, but the world moved slowly in those days, and much of the willingly proferred assistance came too late. It is not with what took place in

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Ireland that I have now to deal, however, but with what happened at our very doors and is clearly remembered by many who are living at this day. Even in this respect the material which is available is more than sufficient to occupy many times the space than can be allowed at this time, though at a future period and in another form the story may be told with more attention to detail.

In the year 1847, death and emigration depleted the population of Ireland to the extent of more than two million people. The potato crop had been a failure in 1846, and the result was widespread destitution, followed by famine. Then came the pestilence of typhus fever, and death began to reap its harvest among the unhappy victims of destitution. Famine came also to the Highlands of Scotland, and every mail from across the sea brought to this country worse and worse tales of human suffering. The world was appealed to for help, and the work of attempted relief began, but the famine and the fever moved more swiftly than man's aid. The land appeared to be accursed, and the only hope of the stricken people seemed in seeking a home beyond the ocean.

There had been bad seasons for the crops in Ireland during the preceding years, and the tide of emigration had been steadily increasing. In 1846 the outflow was greater than in any of the previous years, for nearly 130,000 persons embarked, of whom 33,000 were for British North America. The arrivals at St. John in 1844 had been 2,000, and in 1845 they had increased to 6,000, but in 1846 they had risen to the number of 9,000, and there were indications that the following season would greatly exceed all the others in respect to immigration. The government immigration agent for New Brunswick, Moses H. Perley, in his report at the close of 1846, pointed out the urgent need of better

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accommodation at the quarantine station at Partridge Island, and the government made a grant of £200 for repairs to the existing buildings. These were two old structures, erected many years before by the St. John board of health, and would contain one hundred patients. They were poor affairs, even for that day, and at that time they were very much out of order for the needs of ordinary years. The grant was passed in April, but even then the fever ships had begun to leave Ireland, and before the repairs could be effected they had begun to land their human cargoes upon the Island by the hundreds. Then it became necessary to build a new pest house.

Despite of the extraordinary efflux during the years already named, no special measures seem to have been taken by the authorities on the other side of the water to ensure the comfort and health of the passengers on the emigrant ships. The law, poor as it was, was not enforced by any rigid system of inspection, and grasping shipowners were permitted to send their vessels to sea overcrowded and with provisions insufficient in quality and quantity. During the year 1846 there were thirteen prosecutions and convictions of shipmasters before magistrates in St. John, on charges of this kind, and these probably represented only the most aggravated cases which could not be excused.

The year 1847 opened gloomily enough for Ireland and the Irish people. Most deplorable accounts came from all sections. Of thirty inquests reported at Roscommon at the beginning of the year, eighteen were cases of death from starvation. In the same district the number of cases of typhus fever reported daily was 75, with an average of fourteen deaths. The landlords were serving papers on delinquent tenants at a rate treble beyond any of previous years. All over

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the land graves were being dug, and the carpenters were at work night and day making rough coffins, but labor as they would, the work of death was more rapid. In some instances, for the want of coffins, bodies were carried to the grave on doors taken from houses, a covering of straw sufficing for a pall. The highways abounded with famishing men, women and children, reduced to the state of living skeletons. Driven to extremes, honest men took the cattle and sheep of their more prosperous neighbors. When the law called this theft, those who were sent to prison were at least saved from starvation, whatever might become of their families. Those who lived near the shore ate seaweed. In the extremity of their hungar they would eat anything. In one hut eight starving wretches were found devouring a dog. At times the living, the dying, and the dead were strangely grouped together, as where seven were found lying side by side, one dead for many hours, and the others unable to move either themselves or the corpe. Pages upon pages of dreadful detail could be given, but enough has been told to give an idea of the condition to which a large number of the people were reduced, and why they were abandoning their native land in such enormous numbers during the year 1847.

It will be readily understood that the emigrants varied much in their conditions of life. Some had been saving their money for years with a view to bettering their state in a new land, and in occasional instances they had sufficient to support them for a time in the country of their adoption. Others were utterly destitute, and had their passage paid in order to get them out of the country. Of this class were the hundreds evicted from various estates of non-resident landlords, including Lord Palmerston and Sir Henry Gore Booth. Some of these had scarcely clothes to their backs, and

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being without means to provide themselves with food and other comforts for the long ocean voyage, which required an average of 43 days, they had to depend on the ships' allowance of bread, which was often insufficient and of bad quality. Under the most favorable circumstances the fever would have been a scourge among the emigrants on shipboard that year, but when its victims were people who could scarcely walk when they embarked, and who were packed into overcrowded vessels, with miserable accommodations and wretched food, the results were such as to make one shudder that such a condition of things was possible in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The story of the great distress in Ireland did not fall on unheeding ears in America, and early in 1847 subscriptions were called for at many places in the United States and what is now Canada. The response was a generous one, and the people of St. John, regardless of class or creed, gave liberally in aid of the sufferers. On the second of February a meeting, called by Sheriff White, was held at the court house and committees were appointed for all the wards. The churches also made collections, while the proceeds of a charity ball and a concert were devoted to the same purpose. In less than four weeks more than £1,100 had been collected, and this was increased by £450 additional, a little later. A portion of the money was sent to the sufferers in the Highlands of Scotland, but the greater part went to Ireland where it was more imperatively needed. The sum thus collected was about £1,556. In addition to this the Bank of British North America issued drafts to individuals to the amount of £1,083 in one day, chiefly in sums of £5, the money coming from the Irish people here who sent it to their friends and kindred at home. In the general collection, too, the Irish people gave with a very free

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hand. The largest amount from any city district was from £246 15s. from Kings ward, while £129 was collected in St. Malachi's and St. Peter's churches. In all, more than £2,600 was sent from St. John, and probably much more was sent through the banks, by individuals, of which no record has been kept. The legislature of New Brunswick made a grant of £1,500 sterling, and that of Nova Scotia granted £1,000. Over £200 was raised at Miramichi, and other parts of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and the Canadas gave according to their means. There was need of every dollar, for the situation was growing worse and worse every day. Though the poor-houses of Ireland were crowded with a hundred thousand inmates, multitudes were still suffering for the most common necessaries of life, while the fever continued to carry off its victims by scores in every part of the stricken country.

The first of the immigrant ships to arrive at St. John was the brig Midas, on the 5th of May, 1847. It was from Galway, and had made the passage in 38 days. During the voyage two adults and eight children had died, and many of the passengers were sick when landed at Partridge Island. Following this came other vessels, and on the 16th the barque Aldebaran arrived. It had left Sligo with 418 passengers, and of these 34, chiefly children, had died during the 48 days of the voyage. More than a hundred of the passengers were sick on their arrival, and more than 80 of them subsequently died and were buried on the Island. It was charged that this vessel was overcrowded, that the provisions and water were bad and that the deaths of the children were due to the scarcity of soft food for their sustenance. This was true of many of the vessels which arrived later, and one of the saddest features of these ocean tragedies was the proportion of infant mortality. The graves on the Island are chiefly those

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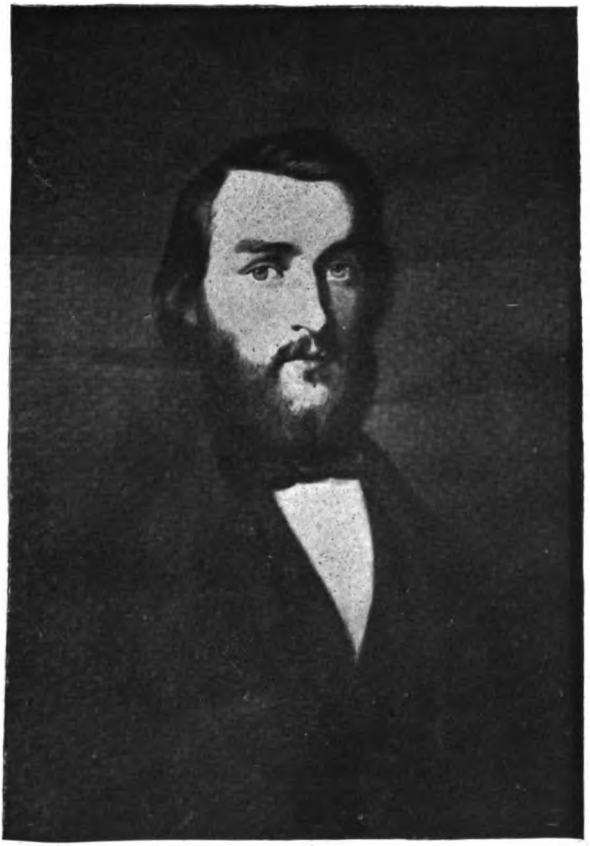
of adults, for the children perished at sea through lack of proper care and nutrition.

During the month of May twelve vessels arrived and were placed in quarantine, the passengers being removed to the hospital on the Island. Among these vessels were several veritable death ships, such as the Pallas, the Thornley Close and the Amazon. Included in the arrivals was the brig Mary Dunbar from Cork, with small pox on board.

Dr. George J. Harding was the quarantine physician, and was assisted by Dr. George L. Murphy, but the the cases multiplied so rapidly that further medical aid was necessary. In the latter part of May two doctors from the city were sent to the Island. One of these was Dr. W. S. Harding, who is now a well known citizen of St. John. The other was Dr. James Patrick Collins, who was destined to give his life in the effort to lessen the sufferings of the stricken people of his race. Dr. Collins was then only 23 years of age, and there was every promise of a most brilliant career for him. He had been married in the previous autumn to a sister of the Revs. James and Edmond Quin, who is still living.

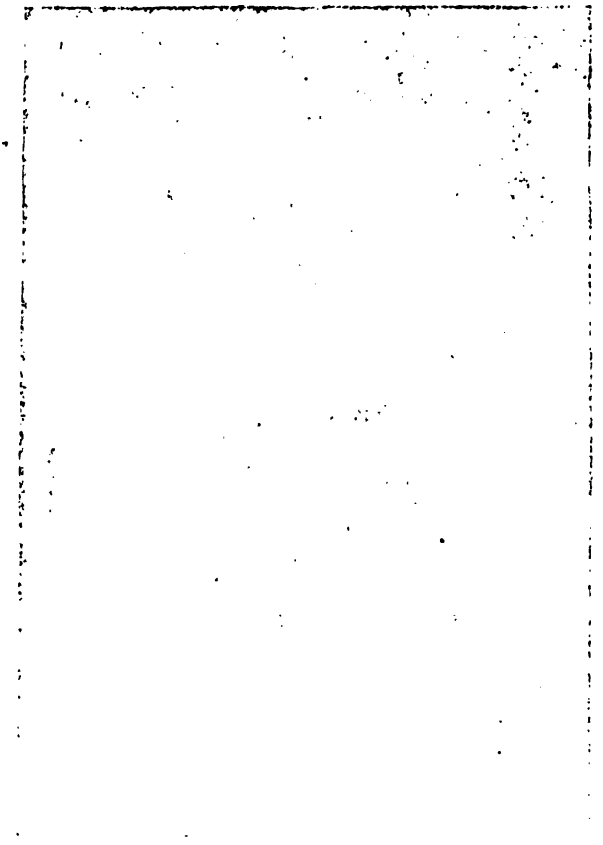
Drs. Harding and Collins were well aware of the terribly infectious character of the fever, but they went to the Island to do their duty, whatever might be the result. They had more than enough to tax their energies. During the month of June 35 vessels arrived. On these 5,800 passengers had embarked, but nearly 200 had died in quarantine and on the Island, while some 880 of those who had been landed were sick in the hospital at the close of the month. By that time, however, both Harding and Collins were prostrated with the fever, and on the 2nd of July Dr. Collins died, a martyr to his duty and a hero in the truest sense of the word. The funeral took place on the following

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JAMES PATRICK COLLINS, M. D.

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Sunday, and was the largest ever seen in St. John. The body was brought from the Island to Reed's Point, followed up the harbor by a long line of boats. The funeral procession reached from Reed's Point to the head of Dock street, and was composed of nearly 4,000 people, all classes of citizens uniting to pay tribute to the memory of the devoted young physician. Bishop Dollard and his clergy were among those who followed the body, and the pall bearers were all medical men. The burial was at Indiantown cemetery, now the Redemptorist grounds, but the body was afterwards removed to Fort Howe cemetery, where a simple monument marks the spot.

In the meantime, the infection was extending to the city, and by the last of July 660 had been admitted to the Emigrant Hospital at the old poor house, at the corner of Great George's (now King) and Wentworth streets. Of these 62 had died and the death rate was increasing. When the hospital became too crowded the sick immigrants were housed in sheds at the back shore, near the marine hospital. The latter institution had also its quota of sailors ill with the fever. Then the disease became epidemic and many deaths took place among the citizens, but of these there is no specific record. No one who had any communication with the sick was safe. Drs. Harding and Collins had already contracted the fever at the Island, and in August Dr. George Harding was prostrated, but recovered. Dr. Wetmore was sent to the Island with Dr. W. S. Harding at this time. In the city, Drs. W. Bayard, Wetmore and Paddock were ill, one after the other, in their attendance at the poor-house, but all recovered. Andrew Barnes, steward of the mariné hospital, contracted the disease and died.

Father James Quin went daily to the Island and was unceasing in his ministrations to the sick and

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dying. He did not take the fever, nor did Fathers Dunphy and Edmond Quin, who were in constant attendance at the poor-house hospital. Rev. Robert Irvine, of the St. John Presbyterian church, also attended at the latter place, but contracted the disease and narrowly escaped death.

During the month of July 4,058 more immigrants arrived, making a total of nearly 9,900 up to that time. Among the vessels was the barque Ward Chipman, from Cork, with 505 passengers. There had been 27 deaths on the voyage, 40 persons were sick and the fever was increasing rapidly. Closely following this vessel was the barque Envoy, from Londonderry, with a most malignant type of small pox. As many as six vessels with immigrants would sometimes arrive in one day, and the greater number of them had the fever among the passengers, though in some cases to only a slight extent.

On the sixth of August a heavy gale sprang up from the south-east. The brig Magnes, from Galway, was lying to the eastward of the Island, all the passengers having been removed. This vessel was driven ashore and became a total wreck. One of the crew, who was lying sick on board, was drowned. The brigantine Bloomfield, from Cork, having on board 74 passengers in a destitute and starving state, was driven up the harbor and into the timber ponds at Portland Point, but with no loss of life.

The scenes on Partridge Island during the six months that the immigrants continued to arrive and the fever to rage are beyond description. When it is remembered that in some instances as many as 500 people were landed from single vessels, and that numbers were so helplesss that they had to be carried, some idea can be gained of that constant and awful procession of wretched beings during that memorable summer

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and autumn. In many instances a whole day was taken to land the passengers from one ship, and numbers were so weak that they would sit down utterly helpless on the high ground just above the landing place, to lie there for the night amid their scanty personal effects. Many of those who were not sick camped out in various places over the Island, making such shelter as they could. A supply of tents was sent down from the city, and partially served the purpose, but the poor people had to pitch these tents for themselves, and made such rude work of it that when a storm came and the shelter was most needed their tent pins would be pulled out and their houses literally overturned. Others took the rough boards which had been sent down to make coffins, and built rude camps. At the outset, an attempt had been made to make coffins for all who died, and James Portmore, the carpenter who was building the pest house, was kept hard at work with his double duties. As the pestilence increased even this rude undertaking work was found to be out of the question. The sick died faster than the coffins could be made, and they were buried in their ordinary clothing. The soil of the burial ground was so thin in many places that the bodies were little more than covered with earth, and after a heavy rain portions of the clothing could be seen protruding. As a result the odor was carried on the southerly winds to the city. Then quicklime was sent to the Island and scattered over the graves, and more earth was piled upon the shallow places. In many instances, where the deaths were in rapid succession, trenches were dug and a number of bodies buried together. On one occasion, when the doctors and assistants were all prostrated, 45 bodies accumulated in the dead house. A huge pit was dug close by the building and all the dead were placed in it. The spot is clearly to be distinguished at

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this day by the vivid green of the grass, which for half a century has been nourished by the bones of the unfortunate immigrants.

Day after day the work of death went on, the number of unfortunates being augmented by new arrivals up to late in October. Mr. Alex. Reed, who was then keeper of the light house, and to whom I am indebted for some interesting facts, has told me how, lying in his bed of a calm summer night, he would be startled by an agonized wail, the lament of some woman whose husband, son or father, had drawn his last breath. In time such sounds became so common that they ceased to disturb him.

From the estate of Sir Henry Gore Booth some 1,500 persons were sent to this country, and another large number from the estate of Lord Palmerston. These were of the class likely to become paupers at home, and were thus shipped to America in order to get rid of them. One of the last vessels to arrive, on the 3rd of November, was the barque Æolus, Captain Driscoll, from Sligo, with 240 passengers, most of them without the common means of support, with broken constitutions and almost in a state of nudity. They are so described in a resolution of the common council, in which Lord Palmerston is censured for his inhumanity in sending these helpless people out to endure the rigors of the winter, in this climate. In one ship, the Lady Sale, which arrived in September, there were more than 400 tenants of Booth, among whom were no less than 176 females, including nine widows with 57 children.

As a result of this class of immigration, the city had many poor on its streets long after the fever had ceased. Beggars from door to door were common, and some of them, reduced by their sufferings, were most pitiful sights. A large number of the immigrants

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who recovered, however, went to the United States, where they had originally intended to go, coming to St. John for the reason that, under the conditions of trade at that time, passages in ships to this port were easily obtained.

At various other ports of New Brunswick, outside of St. John, fever ships arrived, and in some cases the disease made great havoc. At Miramichi, for instance, the ship Looshtauk came into port early in June with a list of 117 who had died on the voyage. Between the 3rd and 5th of June 29 others died on the ship while in port, and 96 more died after the passengers were removed to the hospital. Dr. Vondy died from the fever while attending the sufferers.

The quarantine hospital at Partridge Island was closed during the first week in November, and the patients were removed to the poor-house hospital in the city. By that date the epidemic was under control, though deaths continued to take place for some time afterwards.

The number of Irish immigrants landed on Partridge Island that year was 15,000. About 800 died on the voyage. The number of those who died at the quarantine hospital after being landed was 601. There is a record of that many, but it is probable that many others who died on the vessels in quarantine and were also buried on the Island are not included in it. The number of deaths at the poor-house hospital was 595, but there were many others who died at the sheds and in lodgings, of whom there is no official account. The total mortality among the immigrants was thus considerably in excess of 2,000.

For more than half a century the grass has grown over the unmarked and unhonored graves of the hapless immigrants who died on the Island. Some years ago, there were to be seen a few rude wooden head-

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boards which loving hands had placed there when the graves were new, but the last of these has long mouldered away. The burial ground itself gives no indication of the fact that hundreds have there been laid to rest, far from their home and kindred. To the eye it appears like an ordinary barren piece of pasture. At one time and another suggestions have been made that a suitable monument should be erected on the spot in memory of the unfortunate strangers, but no determined action has ever been taken. At last, however, the long deferred project is likely to be carried into effect. A number of the citizens of St. John, of Irish birth and descent, have taken the matter in hand, selected a site subject to the approval of the authorities, and propose to seek the sympathy and aid of all classes of citizens in the undertaking. It is intended to have the monument completed by the first of July next. The project is one which is likely to meet with encouragement, for the reason that the idea must commend itself alike to all friends of humanity, regardless of nationality or creed.

W. K. REYNOLDS.

THE BABCOCK TRAGEDY.

In August, 1884, Mr. J. W. Lawrence read a paper before the New Brunswick Historical Society, dealing with the Babcock tragedy at Shediac, in the year 1805. This paper did not become the property of the Society, and is not now available for publication. Through the aid of Rev. W. O. Raymond, however, the information upon which Mr. Lawrence based his paper has been secured, and with some additional facts the story is now told in more complete form than on the occasion in question.

In the year 1805 there were but a few English families in the parish of Shediac, among whom were

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those of Amasa Babcock and his brother Jonathan. The principal man of the place was William Hanington, the ancestor of the now numerous family of that name in this province. Mr. Hanington was an Englishman who had, a number of years before, secured a large grant of land described as "adjoining the city of Halifax." Coming to the latter city, about 1784, to take possession of his estate, he was amazed to find that to get from the capital to his "adjoining" property meant a journey of about one hundred and seventy miles. This journey he accomplished on foot, in the dead of winter, going over the Cobequid Mountains and hauling a handsled containing a peck of salt and other necessaries. Mr. Hanington made a later journey to Halifax on horseback, to procure a frying pan and some other essentials of housekeeping, for though there were stores at St. John at that time he probably knew little of the Loyalist arrivals, and chose Halifax as his most convenient base of supplies. His most remarkable journey, however, was when he went to Prince Edward Island in a canoe to get his wife, whom he brought back and installed in his home at Shediac. In 1805, Mr. Hanington had reached the age of 47, was the father of a family and was in prosperous circumstances. He was then, as he was all through his life, a very zealous member of the Church of England. There was at that time no Protestant place of worship in that part of the country, but the French had a small church at Grand Digue. On Sundays, Mr. Hanington used to read the Church of England service in his house, for the benefit of his own family and such of the other English speaking people as choose to attend. The service would be supplemented by the reading of one of the sermons of Bishop Wilson, of Soder and Man. In addition to the Babcocks, the chief neighbors were Samuel Cornwall, Simeon Jenks and Amasa

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Killam, all of whom were adherents of the Baptist denomination.

The home of Amasa Babcock was on the road to Cocagne, about three miles from the present church of St. Martin's in the Woods. It was a small block house, built by one Peter Casey, and by him sold to a Mr. Atkinson, who mortgaged it to a Mr. Barry of Halifax. The Babcocks appear to have been hard working men, of little education, and of the type easily moved to go to extremes on occasions of excitement. They worked at farming and fishing, and were in humble circumstances. Amasa Babcock was a man in middle life. His family consisted of a wife and nine children, (the eldest about twenty and the youngest an infant) and his sister Mercy, who had been married to one Hall, but was not then living with her husband. She was of a melancholy disposition and was not allowed to eat with the others of the family.

Mr. Hanington had taken a liking to Babcock, and had purchased for him the place on which he lived. Babcock was to repay him by catching gaspereaux, but had so far paid nothing of any consequence, and Mr. Hanington had sent some young cattle to his place to be fed and cared for during the winter, as a means of securing some of the amount due.

In the spring of 1804 a revival took place in the settlement, among the Baptist people. The meetings were held on Sunday evenings at first, but as the interest became greater they were held on Thursday night of each week as well. Towards autumn, the enthusiasm in the revival became more and more intense, and the people were wrought up to a high pitch of excitement. Many of them believed the world was coming to an end, and all kinds of interpretations were attached to the prophetic portions of the Old and New Testaments. Among those who came among the people was

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Joseph Crandall, a Baptist preacher, and later one of the members for Westmorland in the House of Assembly. Following him came two young men who were on their way to Prince Edward Island. They stayed one night at Shediac and held a revival meeting, which lasted until the next morning and was attended by the most extraordinary scenes of religious excitement.

In January, 1805, one Jacob Peck, another revivalist, came through to Shediac from Shepody, and he appears to have exceeded his predecessors in the extravagance of his appeals to the excitable nature of his hearers. Indeed, his lurid declamation seems to have been all that was needed to drive a number of the people out of their minds. As a result of his work, Sarah Babcock, (daughter of Amasa Babcock) and Sarah Cornwall fell into a species of trance, and began to prophesy that the end of the world was at hand. The infatuated people believed that these unbalanced minds were inspired, and were anxious to have the prophecies preserved. As there was no one able to take down their words, a message was sent to Mr. Hanington, one evening, asking him to come and take their depositions, as they were supposed to be dying. Mr. Hanington, not being in sympathy with the methods adopted in the revival services, refused to go, saying, "It is all a delusion. They want mad-houses rather than meeting-houses." The people were persistent, however, and the messenger was again sent to Mr. Hanington, after he had gone to bed, with the word that the girls had something to say *before they died*, and that they wanted it written down. Thereupon Mr. Hanington got up, remarking to his wife that he had better go, as perhaps he could convince them of their error.

It was then the middle of the night. Mr. Hanington found the girls lying on a bed and Jacob Peck

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walking to and fro in the room. "There is my epistle," said Peck. Mr. Hanington proceeded to inquire what the girls had to say, and to commit it to writing. The alleged prophecy was to the purport that Mr. Hanington was to be converted, and that Jacob Peck and the girls who were prophesying were to convert the French.

The excitement among the people continued during January, and in February the revival services were kept up, night and day, for a week. By this time Amasa Babcock and his household appear to have been wholly out of their minds and utterly indifferent to their temporal affairs. One Poirier, a Frenchman, brought Mr. Hanington word that the cattle which he had put in Babcock's care were suffering for the want of food. When Mr. Hanington questioned Babcock as to this, the reply was, "The Lord will provide." Mr. Hanington then threatened to take the cattle away from him unless he attended to their wants. This was on the 13th February.

When Amasa Babcock went home that night, he took his brother Jonathan with him to grind some grain in a hand mill. Jonathan began to grind, and as the flour came out of the mill Amasa sprinkled it on the floor, saying, "This is the bread of Heaven!" According to his wife's statement, Amasa then stripped off his shoes and socks, and though the night was bitterly cold, he went out into the snow, crying aloud, "The world is to end! The world is to end! The stars are falling!" After shouting in this way for a short time, he returned to the house.

The man had gone stark mad, and the others must have been out of their minds for the time being, as they assented to everything he did without appearing to think it at all strange Then followed a most extraordinary scene.

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Amasa Babcock, his eyes flashing with the frenzy of insanity, arranged his family in order on a long bench against the wall, the eldest girl being at one end near the fire and his wife and youngest child at the other end. He then took a clasp knife and began to sharpen it on a whetstone. Going over to his sister, Mercy, he commanded her to remove her dress, go on her knees and prepare for death, for her hour was come. She obeyed without hesitation. He next ordered his brother Jonathan to take off his clothes, and the infatuated man did so. Nothing appeared surprising to that strange household of deluded beings.

Amasa now acted as one possessed of a devil. He went to the window several times and looked out, as though expecting something to happen. Then he laid his knife down on the floor, on top of the whetstone, the two making the shape of a cross. Stamping on the whetstone, he broke it, calling out that it was the cross of Christ. Then he picked up the knife, went to where his sister was still kneeling and stabbed her with savage strength. She fell to the floor, the blood gushing from the wound, and died in a few moments.

This fearful act seems to have brought the family to their senses. As soon as Jonathan saw the blood flow, he rushed to the door and fled, naked as he was, in the darkness of that winter night, to the house of Joseph Poirier, a quarter of a mile distant. There he was supplied with clothing and went to Mr. Hanington's house, where he aroused the inmates by crying and shouting that his brother Amasa had stabbed his sister.

At that time there was no magistrate at Shediac, and Mr. Hanington at first refused to go to arrest Babcock, but on second thought he decided to act in the matter. Putting on snow-shoes, he started for the house of Joseph Poirier, senior, but in his excitement

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he found himself at the house of young Joseph Poirier, there being no public roads to follow in that part of the country in those days. He was after Pascal and Chrysostom Poirier, whose assistance he might require in making the arrest, and when he eventually found them at the elder Poirier's house they consented to go with him. It was then about two o'clock in the morning.

On entering the house where the tragedy had been committed, they found Amasa Babcock walking about with his hands clasped. Mr. Hanington told the Poirier brothers to seize him. Babcock resisted and asked what they were going to do. Their reply was that they intended to hold him a prisoner, whereupon he cried out, "Gideon's men, arise!"

On hearing these words, his two young sons, Caleb and Henry, jumped up as if to assist him, but were compelled to sit down again, and the prisoner was secured.

The body of Mercy Hall was not in the house, nor was it then known where it had been placed. When Mrs. Babcock was asked if her sister-in-law was dead, she simply said "yes." When some of the English neighbors reached the house about sunrise, search was made for the body, which was found in a snow drift where Amasa had hauled it. He had first disembowelled it, and having buried it in the snow he had walked backward to the house, sweeping the snow from side to side with a broom as he went, in order to cover up his tracks.

The prisoner, with his arms securely strapped, was taken to Mr, Hanington's house. While there he kept repeating, "Aha! Aha! Aha! It was permitted! It was permitted!" The statement of Jonathan Babcock was written down, and the necessary papers were prepared to authorize a committment to prison. On

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seeing the papers, Amasa shouted, "There are letters to Damascus! Send them to Damascus!" It was evident that he was thinking of Saul's persecution of the Christians. Babcock was then taken to the house of Amasa Killam, who had been one of those prominent in the revival. There the prisoner became more violent in his insanity, and to restrain him he was placed upon a bed with his arms pinioned and fastened down to the floor.

The weather was then very stormy, and travelling, in the primitive condition of the roads of those days, was out of the question. By the third day after the tragedy, however, the storm had abated, and several of the men of the neighborhood started out to take Babcock to prison. Putting straps around his arms, they placed him on a light one-horse sled, and putting on their snow-shoes they hauled him by hand through the woods to the county jail at Dorchester, a distance of some twenty-six miles. Truly, one of the stranges winter journeys ever made in the wilderness of this country.

The slowness with which news travelled and found its way into print in those days is illustrated by the fact that the St. John newspapers contained no notice of this remarkable tragedy until after the trial took place, some four months later. The following appeared in the St. John Gazette of June 24, 1805 :—

"On Saturday the 15th inst., at a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol delivery, holden at Dorchester, for the County of Westmorland, at which his Honor Judge UPHAM presided, came on the trial of *Amos Babcock*, for the murder of his sister *Mercy Hall*, at Chediac in that County on the 13th day of February last, The trial lasted about six hours, when the jury after retiring half an hour, returned with a verdict of *guilty* against the prisoner. He was thereupon sentenced for execution on Friday the 28th instant.

"It appeared in evidence that for some time before the trial, the prisoner with several of his neighbors, had been in the habit of meeting under a pretence of religious exercises at each others houses, at which one Jacob Peck was a principal performer; That they were under strong delusion and conducted

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themselves in a very frantic, irregular, and even impious manner, and that in consequence of some pretended prophecies by some of the company in some of their pretended religious phrenzies against the unfortunate deceased: the prisoner was probably induced to commit the horrid, barbarous and cruel murder of which he was convicted. The concourse of the people at the trial was very great, who all appeared to be satisfied of the justice of the verdict and sentence.

"The above named *Jacob Peck* was on the same day indicted for blasphemous, profane and seditious language at the meetings above mentioned, and recognized with good securities to appear at the next Court of Oyer and Terminer in that County, to prosecute his traverse to the said indictment with effect.

"It is hoped and expected that these legal proceedings will have a good effect in putting an end to the strange and lamentable delusion, which made them necessary, and brought the unhappy culprit to such an ignominious death."

On the trial of Babcock, Ward Chipman, solicitor general, appeared for the Crown, and his brief is believed to be still in existence. The prisoner was undefended. The court room was crowded during the trial, and it is said the verdict and sentence met with general approval. The unfortunate lunatic was hanged on the date appointed, and his body was buried under the gallows on what are still the jail premises at Dorchester. There is nothing available to show what became of Jacob Peck.

That a crazy man should be arraigned, tried and condemned without counsel for his defence seems incredible in the light of modern jurisprudence, as does the fact that he was hanged for a crime for which he was not morally responsible. In these days such a man would be sent to an asylum for the insane, but in those times not only were such institutions unknown in this part of the world but there was a wholly different spirit in the administration of criminal law. In the case of Babcock there was the undoubted fact that a person had been slain without provocation, and the court took the most simple method of dealing with the slayer, which was to hang him. ROSLYNDE.

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IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

WRITERS AND WORKERS.

During his vacation Dr. Geo. F. Matthew spent some weeks in Newfoundland. His time was employed examining the Cambrian deposits at Smith Sound, Trinity Bay. These deposits show a more perfect fauna than the beds of St. John. The fossils in these old beds were mostly conical shells, and no trilobites were discovered in them. Dr. Matthew attended the meeting of the American Association at Boston in August, where he read a paper on the "Oldest Palæozoic Fauna."

Mr. W. Frank Hatheway accompanied Dr. Matthew to Newfoundland.

Dr. W. F. Ganong spent three weeks of July studying plant life on the marshes of Westmorland. In company with Mr. Geo. U. Hay he made a canoe trip up the Nepisiguit and down the Tobique, studying the botany of the region.

Mr. W. Albert Hickman, who is an enthusiastic naturalist, has been studying bird life at the head of the Bay of Fundy.

A recent caller at the MAGAZINE office was Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the Lenox Library, New York. Mr. Paltsits is the bibliographical adviser of the superb Cleveland edition of the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. His mission to New Brunswick was in connection with an edition of the captivity of John Gyles, which he is preparing from the earliest manuscripts, and he has been verifying the points of the narrative by a personal inspection of the places where Gyles sojourned in this province and in Maine.

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Another welcome visitor was Mr. Albert S. Gatschet, of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, who has a wide reputation in his special lines of research. Mr. Gatschet spent some time among the Indians in Digby, N. S., investigating their native dialect, and when in St. John was on his way up the river to make further studies of the Indians in the vicinity of Fredericton.

Mr. James Hannay has entered upon the work of writing a history of New Brunswick, which he expects to complete at an early day. It will be written in popular style, and it is quite needless to assume that it will be as readable as all of Mr. Hannay's work in the lines of history has been. He has already made considerable progress with the undertaking.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

QUESTIONS.

21. From Brookville there is an old and long disused road through the woods to King's Beach, so-called, near the entrance to Drury's Cove from the Kennebecasis. When was this road made, and what was the other terminus of the ferry? S. D. S.

22. What is the meaning of the term "chebacco boat," which is found in accounts of occurrences in the early part of the century? C. W.

23. In what year was Lieut. Cleves, of the Royal Artillery, killed by being thrown from his horse, in St. John? R. L. C.

24. In MacFarlane's Historic Sketches of Fredericton, published some years ago in the St. John Sun, chapter xiii, it is stated that Capt. O'Halloran [misprinted D. Halloran] who was in New Brunswick in 1849 and spent much time among the Indians, wrote a

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book dealing with his experiences in this Province. Can anyone give further particulars of this work?

W. F. G.

ANSWERS.

13. We have in these provinces few words, aside from place-names, which are truly indigenous, and of these "aboideau" is a prominent one. It is used at the head of the Bay of Fundy for those dikes across rivers which contain a sluice so built with a valve-like "clapper" that the fresh water can drain out but the sea cannot enter. It is properly pronounced in French fashion with accent on the first syllable, but is often corrupted to "bi-to" (like bite-o) and sometimes to batterdo. Most dictionaries do not contain the word, but the Century Dictionary gives it as from New Brunswick and "of uncertain French origin," though assigning to it a meaning which belongs rather to the word dike. Any suggestion as to the origin of this word would therefore be of much interest. In examining some plans in the Crown Land office at Fredericton a year ago, I found an undated but old one in which an aboideau is marked as "boit de eau." No doubt this is meant for "boîte d'eau," a water-box, which the sluice part certainly is. Of course this early use of the above form by no means proves that to be its real origin, and it probably represents no more than the draughtsman's theory of its origin, but it seems a very reasonable theory. Possibly, originally, it was "une boite d'eau," but more probably "à la boîte d'eau," or "à boîte d'eau"—at the water-box—applying to the particular part of a dike across a stream in which the sluice or water-box is built, and this is exactly the present application of "aboideau." The earliest use of the word I have been able to find in a cursory search is in Diereville, 1708, who has "aboteaux."

W. F. GANONG.

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13. I have always understood that the word "aboideau" came from the French words "aboi," "d'eau;" "aboi"—to keep at bay, "d'eau"—the water. It is a poetical expression taken from hunting—the moose keeping the dogs at bay—and would suggest itself to out-door people and hunters, as the early Acadians were, as the most natural word (or words) to express the idea of the on-rushing waters held back. Some have suggested that the word comes from the Norman "Aboter"—to clog; others from the French "abattre"—to beat back. Hèbert, the apothecary, who is credited with the idea of rescuing the land on the L'Equille river, near Annapolis, from its diurnal flooding, by means of dams, probably found the word coming to his tongue as a happy inspiration while describing what he purposed to do.

GEORGE JOHNSON, Ottawa.

15. The E. & N. A. railway between St. John and Sussex was opened on the 10th of November, 1859. The first passage of a locomotive between Hampton and Sussex Vale had been made on the 1st day of November in that year. W. K. R.

PROVINCIAL CHRONOLOGY.

Every day in the year is the anniversary of some event of more or less importance in the history of the Maritime Provinces and in the lives of individuals. In view of this THE MAGAZINE intends to give, each month, a chronological table, as well as a list of marriages and deaths in various years of the past. In respect to the latter, dates will be beyond the time of the present generation. In each instance, the words of the marriage or death notice will be given as they appeared in the newspapers of the time, excepting that such phrases as "At St. John" and "on the —— inst," will

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not be repeated. When nothing appears to the contrary, the locality referred to may be assumed to be St. John, while the date of the marriage or death is indicated by the figures of the day of the month at the left of the notice.

MEMORANDA FOR OCTOBER.

1. Ward Chipman appointed chief justice, ... 1834
2. Schr. Sarah wrecked at Machias Seal Island, 17 lost, 1834
3. "American Gale" in Gulf of St. Lawrence, ... 1851
4. Arrival of the Fall fleet of Loyalists at St. John, ... 1783
5. The Saxby Gale, ... 1869
6. Hon. Charles Simonds and John Robertson delegates to Canada League, ... 1849
7. Great Fire at Miramichi, ... 1825
8. Robert Parker appointed judge, ... 1834
9. Cape Breton made a county of Nova Scotia, ... 1820
10. Confederation Conference at Quebec, ... 1864
11. Reformed Presbyterian church, St. John, opened, ... 1835
12. Wesleyan church at Woodstock burned, ... 1835
13. Subercase surrenders Port Royal, ... 1710
14. Road from Magaguadavic to Lepreau completed, ... 1827
15. Foundation stone Fredericton cathedral laid, ... 1845
16. Terence Leonard and James McMonagle hanged at Kingston, Kings, for murder of Bernard Coyle, ... 1839
17. Great Fire in Pictou coal mines, ... 1839
18. Great Temperance procession, St. John, 1700 in line, 1849
19. Chief Justice Chipman resigned, ... 1850
20. Great fire in Portland, ... 1877
21. St. James church, St. John, dedicated, ... 1851
22. Col. Vetch governor of Nova Scotia, ... 1710
23. MacDonald Monument at Kingston, Ont., ... 1895
24. Lord Dalhousie governor of Nova Scotia, ... 1816
25. Royal Tar burned in Penobscot Bay, ... 1836
26. Market Slip, St. John, enlarged, ... 1842
27. R. Jardine first president E. & N. A. Railway, ... 1851
28. Capt. Pipon drowned in River Restigouche, ... 1846
29. N. S. government offers reward of £20 for the person who cut off the ears of John Mullin at Liverpool, 1782
30. Gorham sent to examine French on St. John R., ... 1748
31. Salaries of N. S. judges fixed at £100, ... 1765

OCTOBER MARRIAGES.

1. DeVeber-Illsley—1856. At Portland, Me., by the Rev. Alex. Burgess, J. S. Boies DeVeber, Esq., of this city, to Elizabeth R., daughter of R. Illsley, Esq., of that city.

2. Morrisey-Connor—1843. At Greenwich, K. C., by the Rev. Mr. Cookson, Mr. George Morrisey of St. John, to Miss Catherine, youngest daughter of Mr. Thomas Connor of Kingston.

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3. McCready-Hartt—1835. In Fredericton, by Rev. Frederick W. Miles, Mr. Raymond McCready, Merchant, of St. John, to Miss Deborah Ann, second daughter of the late Mr. Henry A. Hartt, of St. John.

4. Wales-Wilson—1848. By the Rev. William Stewart, Mr. John Wales, of the Parish of Portland, to Miss Mary Wilson, of the Parish and County of Saint John.

5. Robertson-Armstrong—1848. At Greenhead, by the Rev. William Stewart, Mr. George Robertson, of the Parish of Portland, to Miss Jane Armstrong, ot the Parish of Lancaster, County of Saint John.

6. Fitzgerald-Carleton—1847. By the Very Rev. James Dunphy, V. G., Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, to Miss Sarah Carleton, both of this city.

7. Fowler-Sederquist—1851. At the Wesleyan church in Germain street, by Rev. R. Knight, Mr. Henry B. Fowler to Miss Sarah C. Sederquist, both of Hampton, Kings County.

8. Bliss-Dibblee—1851. At Fredericton, by Rev. Charles P. Bliss, Missionary at Harvey, George J. Bliss, Esq., Barrister at Law, to Susanna Mary, second daughter of George J. Dibblee, Esq., of Fredericton.

9. Doherty-Dever—1843. By the Rev. James Dunphy, P. P., Mr. James Doherty, of Woodstock, to Miss Ann Dever, of St. John.

10. Hatheway-McGivern—1844. At Portland, by Rev. Wm. Harrison, Mr. James G. Hatheway, of Madawaska, to Miss Ann McGivern, of St. John.

11. James-Shaw—1848. At Granville, N. S., by the Rev. J. Sheppard, James Alexander James, Esq., of Richibucto, N. B., Barrister at Law, to Phoebe Ann, eldest daughter of Joseph Shaw, Esquire, of the former place.

12. Stewart-Wallace—1843. By the Rev. I. W. D. Gray, Rector of this Parish, Henry Stewart, Esq., of Digby, N. S., to Miss Charlotte McLeod Wallace of St. John.

13. Murray-Hatfield—1835. By the Rev. Robert Wilson, Mr. Edward Murray, (Branch Pilot for this port,) to Miss Frances, third daughter of the late Mr. Uriah Hatfield, of this city.

14. Davidson-Barron—1846. At Halifax, by the Rev. John Cameron, Mr. Thomas Davidson, of St. John, to Miss Mary Jane Barron, daughter of the late Mr. John Barron, of Halifax.

15. Coram-Kindred—1839. At Carleton, by the Rev. Mr. Wilson, Mr. John Coram to Miss Jane Kindred, both of Carleton.

16. Beek-Barker—1835. By the Rev. E. Wood, Mr. James S. Beek, of Fredericton, to Margaret, daughter of Mr. George Barker, of Marysville.

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17. BELL-BARBOUR—1839. By Rev. R. Wilson, A. M., Mr. James Bell, jr., Painter, to Catherine, eldest daughter of Mr. Robert Barbour, of St. John.

18. PATERSON-HENNIGAR—1835. At Trinity church, by the Rev. Dr. Gray, Mr. George E. Paterson, to Jane Augusta, eldest daughter of Mr. Michael Hennigar, all of St. John.

19. HATCH-JONES—1848. At St. Andrews, at the residence of the bride's father, by the Rev. J. Alley, D. D., Rector, Wellington Hatch, Esq,, Barrister at Law and Clerk of the Peace for the County of Charlotte, to Alice, third daughter of Captain Thomas Jones, late of the 74th Regiment, and High Sheriff of the County.

20. CAMPBELL-WALLACE—1846. By Rev. Samuel Robinson, Mr. Samuel Campbell, of the Parish of Greenwich, to Miss Mary Wallace, of the same place.

21. NEEDHAM-GALE—1835. By the Rev. Dr. Gray, William H. Needham, Esquire, of Woodstock, Barrister at Law, to Miss Mary Ann, second daughter of Mr. Benjamin Gale, of St. John.

22. DANIEL-EDMUNDS—1834. At Charlotte Town, P. E. I., by the Rev. L. C. Jenkins, the Rev. Henry Daniel, Wesleyan Missionary, Sussex Vale, N. B., to Miss Honor Brandwell Edmunds, of Plymouth, England.

23. SCOVIL-WIGGINS—1834. At St. John, by the Rev. the Rector of the Parish, Mr. David Scovil, Merchant, to Hannah, second daughter of the late Samuel Wiggins, Esquire, all of St. John.

24. HANNAY-SALTER—1838. By the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the Rev. James Hannay, Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Richibucto, to Jane, daughter of Mr. Francis Salter, of Newport, Nova Scotia.

25. CLARK-DODGE—1843. By the Rev. Michael Pickles, Mr. Daniel W. Clark, of Carleton, to Miss Amy Amelia Dodge, of the Parish of Hampton.

26. WARWICK-HAYWARD—1846. At Studholm, by the Rev. Mr. Allen, Mr. William Warwick, of the city of St. John, to Miss Susannah, daughter of Mr. David Hayward, Parish of Studholm.

27. SEELY-BECKWITH—1849. At the Cathedral, Fredericton, by the Rev. Archdeacon Coster, Mr. Abner Seely, of Burton, to Amelia C., daughter of John A. Beckwith, Esquire, of Fredericton.

28. MCFARLANE-SEAMAN—1847. At Christ's Church, Hartford, Connecticut, by the Rev. Charles R. Fisher, Alexander McFarlane, Esq., of Amherst, Nova Scotia, Barrister at Law, to Ann, daughter, of Amos Seaman, Esq., of Minudie, N. S.

29. ROBERTS-JONES—1851. By Rev. W. W. Eaton, Mr. David Roberts to Miss Mary Elizabeth Jones, both of the Parish of Portland.

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30. CONNELL-FISHER—1848. By the Rev. Mr. Busby, George Connell, Esquire, Barrister at Law, of Woodstock, to Mary Ann, only daughter of the late Mr. David Fisher, of St. John.

31. PEATMAN-FLEWELLING—1843.—By Rev. W. Scovil, A. M., Mr. Norris Peatman, of the Parish of Greenwich, to Rachel Jane, eldest daughter of Mr. Ezra Flewelling, of the Parish of Wickham.

DEATHS IN OCTOBER.

1. HICKMAN—1844. At Dorchester, Mr. Thomas M. Hickman, in the 19th year of his age.

2. WELLS—1846. In Carleton, of consumption, after a very painful illness of seven months, which she bore with great patience and eutire resignation to the will of her Divine Master, Emeline Amelia, wife of Mr. John P. Wells, and sixth daughter of John Wightman, Esq., leaving a husbend and one child to mourn their loss.

3. TISDALE—1846. In Trafalgar, Canada West, after a long and painful illness, Mr. William Tisdale, (formerly of St. John, N. B.,) deeply regretted by a vast number of friends with whom he was connected.

4. GARD—1848. After a short illness, Margaret, wife of Mr. Thomas Gard, in the 41st year of her age, leaving a family of six children to mourn their irreparable loss.

5. VARLEY—1849. After seven days' severe affliction, Mr. Mark Varley, in the 47th year of his age; highly and deservedly esteemed by all who knew him, while living, and whose unexpected and sudden death will be deeply lamented by his friends and a large circle of acquaintances Of him it may be said, (if not a perfect) he was "an upright man, one that feared God and eschewed evil."

6. DOOLIN—1849. After a long and tedious illness, which he bore with Christian fortitude and resignation to the Divine Will, Mr. Michael Doolin, of the Marsh, in the Parish of Portland, aged 68 years, leaving a large family and a numerous circle of friends to mourn their loss.

7. SEGEE—1846. At Fredericton, Captain James Segee, in the 76th year of his age. Captain Segee was for about twenty years a master of a Steamboat on the River St. John, and was universally respected He landed with the Loyalists at St. John, in 1783, and on the day of his death he had completed a residence in this Province of exactly 63 years.

8. MCGEAGHEY—1849. Mr. Thomas McGeaghey, in the 34th year of his age. Mr. McGeaghey was for many years a very efficient Marshal of this City, and his remains were followed to the grave on Thursday by a numerous and respectable number of friends.

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9. WELDON—1848. At Dorchester, John Weldon, Esquire, in the 75th year of his age. For upwards of half a century he had been a consistent member of the Wesleyan Methodist Society—was universally esteemed during his life,—and is regretted by a numerous circle of friends and relations.

10. DUNHAM—1839. At Carleton, after a long and painful illness, aged 81 years, John Dunham, Esq., who for loyalty to his King, left the land of his birth, and in 1783 came to this Province to share in the hardships and privations peculiar to the settlement of a new country. Mr. Dunham has successively held the situation of Lieutenant and Captain of the St. John County Regiment of Militia, and in every department of life, has invariably sustained the character of an honest man and a worthy member of society.

11. TOLE—1851. In the 33rd year of her age, Mary consort of Mr. Patrick Tole, who leaves two children and a large circle of friends to mourn her loss.

12. PAUL—1848. At St. John, on Thursday, 12th, Mrs. Abigal Paul, Widow of the Late Mr, John Paul, in the 84th year of her age. Mrs. P. came to this Province with the Loyalists in the year 1783, and through a long life enjoyed the respect and esteem of all her friends and acquaintances.

13. GILLIES—1847. At Norton, Kings County, Mrs. Elizabeth Gillies, relict of the late Mr. Jesse Gillies of Springfield, in the 81st year of her age. Mrs. Gillies had lived to see her children of the fourth generation, having had 13 children, 86 grand children, 145 great grand children, and 7 great great grand children, in all 251.

14. WINSLOW—1859. At his residence, Upper Woodstock, John Francis Wentworth Winslow, late Sheriff of Carleton County, in the 67th year of his age.

15. MCPHERSON—1839, After a long illness, Mr. Joseph McPherson, aged 49.

16. NORRIS—1834. At Cornwallis, N. S., the Rev. Robert Norris, in the 70th year of his age, a native of Bath, (Eng.) and for many years Rector of St. John's church, Cornwallis.

17. MARTER—1857, At Hammond River, Thomas Peter Marter, Esq., Assistant Commissary General, aged 85.

18. FORBES—1847. At the residence of G. F. Campbell, Esq., St. Andrews, Jane, relict of the late Anthony George Forbes, Esq., M. D.

19. ANDERSON—1845. At the residence of Chas. Hazen, Esq., Union street, after a long and tedious illness, which she bore with resignation to the Divine Will, Eliza, consort of George Anderson, Esq., of Musquash, in the Parish of Lancaster, aged 52 years.

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20. BACKHOUSE—1844. At Dorchester, aged 22, Sarah Jane, eldest daughter of the late Marmaduke L. Backhouse, Esquire, M. D.

21. BRANNAN—1859. At Fredericton, Mr. Philip W. Brannan, for many years messenger of the House of Assembly.

22. LOCKHART—1834. At St. John, Mr. Edward Lockhart, of St. John, and formerly of Newport, N. S.—His remains were interred on the 25th, with Masonic honors.

23. PADDOCK—1838. After a short but severe illness, Thomas Paddock, Esquire, Physician and Surgeon. Dr. Paddock was in the 48th year of his age.

24. LEAVITT—1850. Thomas Leavitt, Esquire, in the 56th year of his age. Mr. L. has for several years past been President of the Bank of New Brunswick, &c. He left a wife, four sons and three daughters, to mourn the loss of a kind and affectionate husband and parent.

25. PARTELOW—1849. At Burton, County of Sunbury, deeply regretted, Henry T. Partelow, Esquire, aged 45 years, leaving a wife and seven children to lament their loss. Mr. Partelow was brother of the Hon. J. R. Partelow, Provincial Secretary, and filled, satisfactorily, many important public situations. He represented the County in which he died several years in the General Assembly of the Province.

26. CORAM—1848. At Carleton, Mr. Joseph Coram, Senior, in the 70th year of his age. Mr. C. emigrated to this country from Englund many years ago, and has left a large number of relatives and friends to mourn their loss.

27. HUNTER—1839. In King street, after a short illness, which he bore with the most exemplary patience and resignation, John Hunter, Esquire, M. D., of Letterkenny, (Ireland) in the 49th year of his age, deeply and deservedly regretted by a numerous family, and all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

28. LAWRENCE—1843. Mr. Alexander Lawrence of St. John, in the 56th year of his age.

29. WILLISTON—1836. At Miramichi, Mrs. Jane, wife of Mr John Williston, in the 29th year of her age.

30. BEATTIE—1849. At Fredericton, Mary, wife of Mr. Nathaniel Beattie, and daughter of the late Mr. William Segee, of that city, in the 44th year of her age.

31. BRUNDAGE—1846. At Carleton, Mrs. Hannah A. Brundage, relict of of the late Mr. Daniel Brundage, in the 48th year of her age.

Notes on Provincial Bibliography are held over this month.

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NOVEMBER, 1898.

The New Brunswick Magazine

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SIR JOHN CAMPBELL ALLEN

LATE CHIEF JUSTICE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

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OCT 31 1898

The New Brunswick Magazine.

VOL. I. NOVEMBER, 1898. No. 5

SIR JOHN CAMPBELL ALLEN.

The passing away of Sir John Campbell Allen, retired chief justice of New Brunswick, is one of the events of contemporary history which are within the province of this magazine. It would, indeed, be fitting that more than a brief tribute should be paid to one who was not only descended from a Loyalist ancestor of no common renown, but whose own life as a public man was a connecting link between the days of the Loyalists themselves and the eve of the twentieth century. These things, which it is hoped will be dealt with at a later date by one well competent to do them justice, would of themselves be sufficient to entitle the late jurist to more than ordinaty mention, but above and beyond these stands out the man himself, a grand figure in the history of colonial jurisprudence, conspicuous even in association with those illustrious judges who preceded him in the exercise of his high judicial function. This is not only the opinion of to-day, but it will be the verdict of the future.

The Honorable Isaac Allen, grandfather of the late chief justice, having served his king in the Revolutionary war as colonel of a New Jersey regiment, came to

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the provinces with his family at the close of the struggle, and on the organization of the supreme court of New Brunswick, in 1784, was appointed one of the four judges. His son, John Allen, born in the last named year, was subsequently Colonel Allen, a prominent public man who was one of the judges of the inferior court of common pleas, and for thirty-five years continuously represented the county of York in the General Assembly. He died at the advanced age of ninety-one years. John Campbell Allen, his son, was born in 1817, and in 1838, at the age of twenty-one, was admitted an attorney of the supreme court of New Brunswick. This was the beginning of a long and honorable service at the bar and on the bench of his native province, which terminated only when, in November, 1893, after fifty-five years of earnest work, he was stricken by paralysis while at the post of duty. Five years later, on the 27th of September last, he passed away, leaving behind him the precious heritage of a good name, which shall endure undimmed down through the generations that shall follow us.

In all the varied epochs of his public life, as a lawyer, a legislator, a crown officer and a judge, Sir John Allen dignified and adorned the position he held. His positions came all unsought by him, because he was recognized as the right man in each instance. When he had reached the highest position on the bench, his name as a jurist and a gentleman found fit association with such names as those of the chief justices from Ludlow to Ritchie. He was made a judge because he was worthy to be one, and when he became a judge he had in him that which commanded respect, wholly apart from the scant and formal courtesy which would be of necessity due to the position. He belonged to the old règime of judges, to whom the most swaggering latter-day attorney felt impelled to doff his hat on the

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street. He added to the dignity of the bench, by his sound learning, his good judgment and his absolute fairness to all with whom he had to do. Equally in private life he was a gentleman, who would have been distinguished as such in whatever position he might have held, for, with much force of character, he fulfilled the primary meaning of the term "a gentle man." Temperate, as well in his language as in his tastes, his personal character was above reproach. What is still more important, he was a man whose religion was dear to him and who lived a life in accordance with the teachings of his faith. In a word, he was of the cast of man to make the upright judge, and as such he will be remembered.

Much could properly be said of Sir John Allen in his many relations of life, of the brilliant phases of his career, of what he accomplished, and of his lifelong interest in his native province, its history, its people and its resources. His title, accorded to him after half a century of professional life, was not needed to adorn or dignify the man. In the light of some instances of the distribution of colonial honors in recent years, it may be said that the man dignified the title. It was not given to him only because he was chief justice of New Brunswick, but because he was also John Campbell Allen. Well would it be if such wise judgment were always exercised in the conferring of titles in Canada.

It is something for those who come after us to remember that, whatever may be the stamp of men who sit upon the bench in future years, we have at least had such jurists as Chipman, Parker, Carter, Ritchie and Allen as chief justices of New Brunswick—men differing essentially one from another in certain respects, but all alike worthy of their high station and all alike adding to its lustre.

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THE QUEER BURGLAR.

Though some account of the Queer Bank Burglar was given by the writer, in one of the St. John newspapers, a year or two ago, it was of an incomplete and fragmentary character. Since then additional information has been obtained, so that the story may now be told in a more accurate and readable form.

The burglar in question was the only man who ever undertook to rob the Bank of New Brunswick by breaking into it, though, as with all banks, there have been and are likely to be other attempts to get at the money by more respectable, though not more honest, gentlemen. Some of these latter efforts have been attended with success, but the experiment of the Queer Burglar was a most disastrous failure.

There was no police force in the city of St. John in the year 1848, but there were a number of men who composed the "Nightly Watch," and who did more or less efficient patrol duty during the hours of darkness. The darkness of the streets in those days was of a fairly complete description, for though the city was lighted by gas, the lamps were at long distances from each other and were not a very serious check upon the actions of evil-doers. When a watchman discovered anything wrong he summoned his comrades to his aid, and though they might not always respond in time to catch the thieves, the latter were at least sufficiently alarmed to desist from their felonious purpose and get away, figuring as the anonymous actors in what the newspapers of the time would term a "daring attempt at burglary."

About two o'clock in the morning of Thursday, the 13th of January, 1848, the captain of the Nightly

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Watch, weighted down with a blue greatcoat faced with scarlet, and armed with sundry weapons and a lantern, climbed the steep ascent between the ferry landing and Prince William street, and stopped to take breath at what is now the Post Office corner, where there was then only a vacant lot with a board fence around it. Peering through the darkness, he was amazed to see a ladder leaning against the front of the Bank of New Brunswick, and on closer examination he was still more astonished to discover a man on the top of the ladder, trying to get in one of the small windows in the second story, the windows of the lower story being protected by iron shutters. Assuming very properly that an honest glazier would have no business there at such an inconvenient hour on a winter morning, the captain lost no time in deciding that the man on the ladder was a person who ought to be arrested.

The captain of the Nighly Watch was a man of discretion, as well as of valor. Reflecting that the man might have accomplices, he refrained from rushing at him with blind officiousness, but raised his voice in a loud cry for assistance from the watch house at the Market Square. His men came promptly to his aid, but by that time the man on the ladder had come to the conclusion that it would be impracticable to continue his operations under the circumstances, and had fled down the street, leaving the ladder behind, as well as his cap, which had fallen off in the haste of his departure. These trophies were secured and carried in triumph to the watch house.

This bold attempt at burglary was duly chronicled in the press, and it is probable the Nightly Watch made up their minds that the next time such an attempt was made the fellow would suffer for it, but if they exercised their eyes in looking for another ladder against the front of the building they were on a vain quest. The

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Queer Burglar had another kind of scheme for the next occasion.

The officials at the bank seem to have taken it for granted that the Queer Burglar had been so frightened by the mighty voice of the captain of the Nightly Watch that he would never come back, for they took no special precaution of having a guard on the premises at night, and the janitor, one McArdle, lived in Queen street. The Queer Burglar was aware of this, but he was not in a hurry. The bank could wait until the weather was milder, and to ensure the success of his plan it was necessary for the weather to be so mild that the fires were not kept up. In the meantime, pending a resumption of his operations at the leading financial institution, he employed his talents at some smaller jobs in other parts of the city.

There had been some burglaries of stores before the attempt at the bank, and these were continued during the winter, without any clue to the perpetrator, but it is a reasonable presumption that the Queer Burglar was at the bottom of most of them, if not of all. Two nights after he was frightened away from the bank, the store of John Kirk, North wharf, within gunshot of the watch house, was robbed of about $12 in cash and $160 worth of goods. It was supposed that the burglar hid himself on the premises during the day, but as he took his departure through a hole in the wharf, it is probable that such was also his method of entrance. This was also his way of getting into the store of Clark and McMann, on the South wharf, which he plundered on the following Thursday night, securing some $16 in money, a roll of cloth and some other articles. As will be seen later, the Queer Burglar had a fancy for getting into buildings through holes, whether they were above or below the premises.

During the following week, there were robberies

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at the store of Henry Blakslee, Princess street, Richard Justice, Union street and Robert Rankin & Co., Portland. From the nature and quantity of the goods carried off in some instances, it was apparent that the Queer Burglar had an assistant. Then the newspapers began to abuse the guardians of the peace, whom they termed "the unlucky watchmen."

The roberies were continued through February. On the night of the 3rd, the house, in Paddock street, occupied by Capt. Vaughan was entered by way of the kitchen window, and valuables to the amount of $160 were taken. On the night of the 12th, Keltie's brewery was entered by crawling under the gate and breaking through a window, on which occasion the Queer Burglar got $16 in cash and a gun and pistol. Smith's bake shop was also robbed, a night or two later. On the latter occasion the Queer Burglar took the loose change and a quantity of flour. On the night of the 23rd he broke into the store of Harris & Allan, Mill street, but got only a few shillings and the metal seal of Portland Division, Sons of Temperance, whatever he wanted with that. By this time the newspaper compositors began to think that it would be a saving of composition to keep the heading of "Another Burglary" standing in type, to be used for each week's intelligence in this line of local industry.

Having done a good deal of work without any very heavy results, the Queer Burglar seems to have thought it was high time to put his talents to better use, and his next venture was at no less a place than the Post Office, which was then located in the Custom House building. In addition to the deputy postmaster-general and surveyor, this establishment was then deemed to be amply equipped with a staff of three clerks, one of whom got $400 a year and the two others $360 each. About ten o'clock on the night of March 3, one of these

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clerks went to the office for some purpose, and on lighting the gas discovered a man in the back room, packing up the loose coin to carry away with him. The clerk locked the door upon the intruder and gave the alarm, but the Queer Burglar did not wait for reinforcements to arrive and capture him. He simply broke a pane of glass in the window, got out on a platform in the rear of the building, made a jump of about fifteen feet to the ground on Water street, and got away. He took about $12 in silver, but he left behind him a screw driver and the latch key by which he had got into the building.

By this time both the citizens and the Nightly Watch began to feel very much annoyed at the pertinacity of the Queer Burglar, but as the next few weeks passed without the occurence of any further robberies, the Nightly Watch probably concluded that they had made the city so hot for the fellow that he would not be heard from again. It did not occur to them that he was merely reserving his energies for another and still more daring achievement.

Some time before this, two strangers had rented a room in a house on Union street, next to the residence of Mark Dole, and though they were somewhat of a mystery to the neighbors, nobody appears to have connected them with the burglaries. One of their peculiarities was that they remained in the house during the daytime and only went out after dark. One of the two was a very stout man. The other, who was much slighter, was a man of about 20 years of age, some five feet six in height, of pale complexion, with high cheek bones and light brown hair. The latter was the Queer Burglar, and the other was his assistant, who acted as outside man in the nocturnal depredations.

The moon was not visible on the night of March 31, 1848, but it was a pleasant enough evening for

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ordinary purposes and a specially good night for the work of the Queer Burglar. It was also an evening when some of the young men who were the life of the town in those days were strolling around, not up to any particular mischief but ready for any adventure that might suggest itself to them. One of these parties consisted of James Reynolds, Robert Nisbet, William Hutchinson, Thomas Sandall, George Ford and John Murphy—known to a later generation as "Colonel" Murphy. About nine o'clock this party chanced to stroll in the vicinity of the Bank of New Brunswick, where they found one of the Nightly Watch standing on the street and gazing earnestly at the building. This structure, which was destroyed in the fire of 1877, had four large freestone pillars which formed a portico at the front, and the youths, wishing to make merry with the watchman, asked him if he was trying to count these pillars to see if they were all there. His reply was that he had heard a man shouting for help, and that the sound appeared to come from inside of the bank, but that he could hear the mysterious voice still more plainly on Water street, in the rear of the building. To this place the whole party went, and sure enough the sound could be distinctly heard, though nobody could understaud from what particular place it came.

To the south of the rear of the bank in Water street was the Merritt building, and in front of this was a plank sidewalk. By lying on the sidewalk and putting their ears to it, the voice could be heard more distinctly than before. As near as they could make out the words, the voice kept repeating "I'm in the vault," and this left little doubt that the solution of the mystery was to be found inside the bank building.

In the meantime, however, various other citizens had heard the noise from other positions in the vicinity,

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and a dreadful noise it was at times. To some it appeared like the howl of a dog, while others made out the words, "I'm in the vault! Let me out! Let me out!" as if from a being in mortal agony. A vain search was made around the wharves in the vicinity, on the theory that some person might have got into a place from which he could not extricate himself, and there were not wanting sceptics who asserted that the whole affair was the work of a clever ventriloquist. Others carried the word up town that a ghost was abroad, and as the night advanced the crowd began to increase, and the mystery to deepen.

The watchman and the young men already mentioned were satisfied that the noise came from some part of the bank building, but as the fun seemed likely to last for a while, Mr. Reynolds and his friends concluded to fortify themselves with a supper. It was then about eleven o'clock.

Having refreshed themselves, they then returned to the scene of the mystery. In the meantime they had been joined by Ned Carmichael, an active fellow who had been to sea, and was as ready as the others to engage in this adventure. By this time it had been decided that the voice came from the chimney and they decided to investigate. They accordingly got a ladder, gained the roof of the mayor's office, south of the bank, and then used the ladder to reach the roof of the bank itself. The top of the chimney did not rise high above the slates, and it was easy for anybody to bend over it and listen for the sounds.

"Yes, boys, he's there," shouted Carmichael, and the excitement of the now largely increased crowd in the street grew intense. The practical suggestion was made that a rope with a bowline on the end be lowered down the flue, so that the man could take hold and be pulled up. A line was accordingly procured and let

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down until it slacked. Then some willing hands took hold and began to pull. It came hard at first, as though the man had hold of it, then it suddenly came away as though he had let go. On calling to him his voice seemed more faint than before, and it was argued that he must have dropped down deeper and become wedged more firmly in the flue. Another and more startling theory was that, being wedged in with his arms at his side, he could not have grasped the line, but that it had caught under his chin and would have hanged him had it not slipped off in time. It was then decided to take no further chances with the rope, but to send for somebody who could open the bank and get at the chimney from the inside of the building.

As already stated, McArdle, the caretaker of the bank, lived in Queen street, so some of the party went to his house and woke him up. Now, Mr. McArdle had a very good idea of the capacity of the young men of that day for all sorts of pranks, and when he was aroused at midnight on the first of April he flattered himself that he was wise enough to detect an April Fool trick when it was tried on him, especially when it was in the nature of such an improbable yarn as that a man was in the chimney of the bank. Mr. McArdle declined to accept the statement of the delegation, but when they insisted and protested, he began to think there must be something in the story. He refused to take the responsibility of opening up the bank, however, so Mr. Reynolds started to rouse up the president, Mr. Thomas Leavitt, who lived at the corner of Orange and Carmarthen streets.

When Mr. Leavitt was roused from his slumber, he was inclined to be just as doubtful as Mr. McArdle had been. He asked young Reynolds his name, and on learning who he was seemed more suspicious of a trick than ever, from which it seemed evident that

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the youth's reputation as a joker had preceded him. Reynolds seemed so much in earnest, however, that Mr. Leavitt decided to go, but he insisted that the young man should wait and go in his company, so that if there was a practical joke he would have the author of it in his grasp. It was then some time after midnight.

On reaching the bank, Mr. Leavitt opened the door and the party entered, to look for the man who was somewhere in the flue of the chimney.

The first point was to find out just where he was, and the next was to get him out as soon as possible, as it was evident he would never get out by his own exertions. Not only did common humanity demand such a course, but if the intruder's body were allowed to remain there it would interfere with the draft, besides becoming offensive in course of time. Masons were accordingly sent for, and went to work with their chisels to cut a hole through the inner wall to the inside of the chimney.

As the precise location of the imprisoned man was not known, the first step was to hammer on the chimney in order to judge of his position by his responses. He responded with more fearful howls than before, for the concussion loosened masses of soot and ashes, which fell on his head and around him until he was well nigh suffocated. The hammering was then stopped, and the cutting into the chimney was begun on the theory that the man had got down to where the flue narrowed, about twenty feet from the top of the chimney, and had there become wedged hand and foot. This theory was correct, and fortunately for the man the cutting away was begun at a height corresponding to where his head was. Had they started at his feet, the continued falling of the soot would have caused his death before he could have been rescued.

It was bad enough for him as it was, and his

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groans were heard to be more and more feeble. Finally a small hole was made and the soot pulled out, showing something supposed to be a human face, but so blackened that only the whites of the eyes could be seen. The hammers and chisels were plied with renewed vigor, and the poor wretch was in great peril from the pieces of flying brick. At last the aperture was made large enough for somebody to clear away all the debris around the head and shoulders, and then as the man seemed nearly dead, a glass of brandy was administered to him. The masons continued their work until enough of the brickwork was torn away to allow the whole body to be pulled out, for it was so wedged where the legs had gone down into the narrow part of the flue that the man was held hard and fast.

When the captive was taken out, he was laid on the floor and some of the soot brushed from his face. He was a stranger to all, but James Reynolds thought he must have seen him before, and started to question him.

"Do you feel pretty weak?" he asked in a sympathetic voice.

"No, I don't," was the reply in a gruff and savage tone.

"Don't I know you?" continued the young man.

"No, you don't" was the same gruff response.

"Well, now, what is your name?" was the next question.

"Go to (somewhere) and find out," was the answer, given so viciously that it closed the conversation.

By this time it was between four and five o'clock in the morning. The prisoner, pale despite the soot with which his face was decorated, was taken to the watch house, examined in due course before a magistrate and committed to take his trial at the next

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sitting of the circuit court, in August. There were then only two sittings in the year for St. John. The Queer Burglar was therefore locked up in gaol to meditate for the next four months, and the public congratulated themselves that justice had at last overtaken a desperate offender. He gave his name as John Slater, and his occupation as that of a baker.

It appeared that he had first made his entrance into the furniture warerooms of Joshua Hogan, two doors south of the bank, and going to the garret had got out on the roof. Making his way over the roof of the next building, then used as the mayor's office, he had easily gained the roof of the bank and descended the flue, It was believed he had at least one accomplice, who was waiting to be admitted by way of a window if the Queer Burglar's plan of entrance had succeeded. The bank officials lost no time in putting iron bars in the chimneys, in order to prevent any repetition of such an experiment.

Tuesday, the first of August, was the day appointed for the court of oyer and terminer and general gaol delivery, but on the night of Wednesday, July 26, there was a special gaol delivery by the escape of Slater, in company with two others confined for minor offences. The sheriff, Charles Johnston, offered a reward of $40 for the recapture of Slater, but the latter disappeared very effectually and was never again seen in St. John. At the opening of the court, Judge Street recommended that bills should be found against the three who escaped, and the grand jury did as directed, though it might as well have saved the time and ink required for the operation. The Queer Burglar was never again seen within the jurisdiction of the honorable court, and the reward of ten pounds offered by Sheriff Johnston for his recapture never had a claimant.

W. K. Reynolds.

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*A MISPLACED GENIUS.**

This first steam fog alarm in America and in the world was that invented by Robert Foulis and built at Partridge Island, at the entrance of St John harbor. To him also is due the credit of the invention of the system of signalling by steam at sea in foggy weather. The fog alarm which is at the Island to-day is essentially that which was placed there by Foulis. There have been some modifications and adaptations since his time, the clock-work attachment is no longer used, but the great principle of the invention remains as it was. More than this, the Foulis whistle is heard along the coast of America and beyond the ocean, but the credit and the emoluments have alike gone to others who have profited by what was one of the great inventions of the time, which the inventor had not the commercial instinct to protect by patents which might have made him, or those who followed him, wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice.

Here and there throughout the world the visitor to fog signal stations may read the name of this or that man as the patentee of the alarm itself or of some petty improvement. The name of Robert Foulis is not even recorded above his grave in the Rural Cemetery of the city of his adoption, and of the thousands who pass the spot scarcely any know that there rests beneath the earth the earthly frame of one who should have been a great man, and would have been one had he possessed the business instinct in even a small ratio to his ability and the extent of his scientific attainments. Had Foulis had a different environment, had he been under

*The substance of this paper was read by Mr. Hall before the Natural History Society, at St. John, in April, 1898, and it is now published with some changes and additional information.—ED.

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the guidance of a clear sighted patron, he would have been a famous man. As it was, he lived and died a misplaced genius.

Robert Foulis was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on the 5th of May, 1796. His father, Andrew Foulis, was the successor to that celebrated firm of Glasgow publishers, Andrew and Robert Foulis, which produced so many beautiful and accurate editions of the classic authors. His mother was a Miss Dewar. After passng through the usual school career he was sent to the university of his native town, where for some time he bent his energies to the study of surgery. Unfortunately his strength was overtaxed, and he was forced to abandon further study until his health should have improved. In the meantime he received and accepted an offer from a friend of his father to join a whaling expedition in the capacity of surgeon. Returning home after an extended voyage, he decided to abandon the study of surgery, and apprenticed himself to a relative named Thompson, who was engaged in the engineering business. On becoming a journeyman he removed to Belfast, where he followed the profession of a painter under the patronage of a nobleman whose name is now forgotten. Here he met his first wife, a Miss Elizabeth Heatham, by whom he had a daughter. The death of his wife occured not long after this, however, and he determined to try his fortune in the new world, choosing Ohio as his destination. With this intention he took passage in a vessel bound for a port in the United States, but it was fated that he should never reach the point for which he had started. Very rough weather was encountered on the voyage, and the vessel was finally cast away on the coast of Nova Scotia. Making his way to Halifax, he was induced by some of his countrymen to remain instead of proceeding to his destination. Here he lived by his

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brush, where some of his portraits, it is said, may now be seen. Although he succeeded beyond his expectations, his roving disposition asserted itself, and he removed to St. John about the year 1822, where his card appears in the papers of the day as a miniature painter. In this, judged by the portraits which still exist and which show excellent work, he was well qualified to succeed, but the field for portrait painting was limited. Abandoning this vocation a little later, he devoted himself to civil engineering, making researches meanwhile into the various fields of the science of chemistry. His residence was at the corner of Sydney and St. Andrews streets.

In the year 1825, Mr. Foulis started the first iron foundry in New Brunswick, on the premises near the corner of Prince William and Duke streets, north of the present Custom house. His operations were on a small scale, it is true, but he was the first melter of iron in the city and province, and the premises were subsequently enlarged to accommodate an extensive foundry business by Thomas C. Everitt and others.*

In 1826 the Provincial Government, having in view the application of steam-navigation to the trade connected with the upper portion of the St. John river, determined to institute a survey from Fredericton to Grand Falls. Foulis was appointed to carry on the work, received his instructions 21st June, 1826, and on the 21st August, precisely two months after, he submitted his map and report. "It is a grand map," writes Prof. Ganong, "very detailed—gives by levels the drop in the river for the entire distance covered by the survey." Another authority who possesses a copy declares that the map is well executed and shows that the surveyor was a capable man. Apparently it has

*The first foundry on a large scale was that of Harris & Allan, in 1831. The Foulis foundry was purchased and enlarged by Everitt and others in 1835.—Ed.

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not outlived its usefulness, for the General Report of the Minister of Public Works from 30th June, 1867, to 1st July, 1882, contains a "Tabular View of the River St. John from Fredericton to the Great Falls" which is bassed upon this very survey. The report is lengthy, about equal to fourteen type-written pages, and is to be found in the Journals of the House of Assembly for 1826.

Foulis was personally interested in the development of steam navigation, and was employed by the Messrs. Ward to fit up the steamer John Ward, the second boat placed on the St. John river. This wonderful steamer for those times was most expensively and thoroughly constructed, having a costly copper boiler and other parts of the machinery on a like liberal scale. It was put on the route to Fredericton in the year 1831.

Mr. Foulis was both a worker and a talker. At various periods of his career he lectured on scientific subjects, keeping in view the practical application of them to the useful arts and manufactures. One of his aims was to instruct apprentices and artizans in the higher knowledge of their vocations. After leaving the foundry, he secured premises in the Hay building, in Prince William street, later the site of Smith's building, on the lot south of the present Globe office. An eye witness* thus speaks of the place and the lectures:—

"My earliest reminisence of Mr. Foulis must be somewhere between 1837-1840. I recall a curious shaped building, the upper stories used as a paint shop and the roof of the lower story on sunny days displaying a variety of chairs 'fresh from the brush.' Opening on Prince William street were two or three small shops in which Mr. Foulis delivered a course of lectures on chemistry. On one side of the shop, behind

*Mr. Allan McBeath of St. John.

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the counter, were shelves, upon which a pile of instruments, retorts, etc., were arranged; on the counter stood an electric machine, Leyden jars and other apparatus, all of deep interest to the lads who composed the audience principally. The other side was filled with seats rising upward on an inclined plane; a flag stretched across the front hid the operation from outside gazers and excluded draughts from the doors. As I have no recollection of door-keeper or display of admission tickets, I judge that the lecture was to a great extent free, the object being to awaken an interest in his auditors,—most of the older lads being apprentices to whom a knowledge of chemistry might prove very useful. The stiffness of a *lecture* was lacking, and at its close considerable discussion ensued at the counter. The audience behaved well, and if the experiments did not always meet the promise, they cheerfully accepted the apologies and hoped for better luck next time."

This was in 1838. Though the lectures were, in some cases, free to casual visitors, as suggested above, yet Mr. Foulis evidently hoped to add to his small resources by subscriptions from those who wished to take regular courses, for his advertisement reads as follows :—

SCHOOL OF ARTS.

R. FOULIS intimates to his friends that he is now fitting up a commodious Room in Mr. T. HAY's building, Prince William Street, where he will commence in a few days his proposed course of Lectures on PRACTICAL CHEMISTRY. He will also open Classes for teaching Figures, Architectural and Mechanical Drawing, the principals of perspectve, and the Elements of Mechanics.

Those persons who wish to attend either of the above Classes, will please make early application.

August 4th, 1838.

A week or two later, the idea of the lectures became developed into that of a School of Arts, or "a

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Seminary for the instruction of Youth in the rudiments of Mechanical and Experimental Philosophy and the Fine Arts; also for instructing by popular Lectures and Experimental Illustration, an Evening Class for Artizans, where the practical application of the Sciences to the useful Arts will be demonstrated." Mr. Foulis further gives reasons why the patronage of the public should be expected, and announces that the lectures will be continued weekly for three months. The charges for admission tickets are regulated as follows :—

"Transferable Tickets for the Course, 20s; Artizan's Tickets, (not transferable,) 5s.—Free Tickets will be given to a limited number of young men, on their producing a recommendation from a subscriber.—Ladies who accompany their friends admitted without tickets."

Mr. Foulis offered himself for the office of assistant alderman for King's ward at the civic elections of 1839, giving as his reason the belief that his knowledge as an engineer would be of service to the city. It is probable that he withdrew before polling day, however, for the fight seems to have been between Messrs. John Knollin and Joseph Fairweather, the latter of whom was elected.

From letters patent, dated August 17, 1852, it is learned that Foulis "had firstly invented a new and useful apparatus for decomposing coal and other hydrocarbons for the purpose of manufacturing therefrom a superior gas for illumination, and also a new and economical mode of purifying the same, which apparatus the petitioner styled his Hydro-Olifiant Gas Generator, and secondly the petitioner had invented an apparatus for the purpose of decomposing empyreumatic and essential oils and other liquid Hydro-carbons and for converting the same into illuminating gas. The second apparatus the petitioner styled the Unique Gas Maker, as it contained the means of decomposing the material so to be used." This document proceeds to explain at

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length the working of the apparatus, with frequent reference to diagrams without which no clear description can be given, and is signed by Colonel Freeman Murray, of the 72nd, acting governor, J. R. Partelow, registrar, and John Ambrose Street, attorney general.

Another work of Mr. Foulis was to draw attention to the mineral wealth of Albert county. He spent both time and money in sinking a shaft in that region, only to find that he could not operate it because it was on another man's property.

Prior to the year 1854 there was no fog horn on Partridge Island, and warning was given to mariners by means of a bell, which operated by clock-work, rang out at intervals. The need of some more effective means was greatly felt. Foulis was the first to solve the problem, and between the years 1854-9 he agitated the adoption of a steam horn or whistle. It seems, however, that a gentleman named T. T. Vernon Smith became possessor of Foulis's plans, and made application to the Commissioner of Lights in the Bay of Fundy to erect such a whistle on Partridge Island. The Commissioner finally accepted Mr. Smith's offer, and in 1859 the erection was begun by Fleming & Humbert, engineers, under his superintendence. Mr. Foulis then petitioned the House of Assembly to inquire into his claim to the invention. The petition was presented by Hon. John H. Gray on April 2, 1864, and on the 11th a list of documents connected with the matter was laid upon the table. Later the select committee appointed to consider the claim, submitted its report. After stating the facts as outlined above, it declared that the whistle was made on the plan originally suggested by Foulis, and that Mr. Smith did not pretend to be the inventor. The committee also endorsed the scheme for "Telegraphing by means of the steam horn from vessel to vessel by a pre-concerted plan of sounds and

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intervals forming words." The report was received by the House and on April 12th it adopted the following resolutions:—

"Whereas it appears in the official correspondence from His Grace the Colonial Secretary, laid before the House by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor on 8th day of April instant, that the invention of the fog whistle or horn which has been of great practical utility in the Bay of Fundy, is claimed by other parties than the true inventors thereof: and whereas among the papers and documents so sent down to the House, and also by the examination R. Foulis of the City of St. John, Civil Engineer, before the Select Committee of this House, that he is the inventor thereof, and it is but right that this fact should be made known to Her Majesty's Government, in order that the credit and reward may be given to the proper party; therefore, Resolved, That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, praying he will be pleased to bring the claims of Mr. R. Foulis under the favorable consideration of the British Government in this behalf, as well as in regard to his invention of Telegraphing by means of steam horns or whistles while at sea, or from Light Houses on land."

With this recognition of his claim Mr. Foulis had to be content, for he received no pecuniary reward whatever for his inventions. At a later period an enterprising American examined the invention of the fog alarm, and, recognizing it as a good thing, he had it patented in his own name and for his own advantage.

Mr. Foulis was one of the promoters of the St. John Mechanics' Institute, in 1838, and so zealous was he for its early welfare that he devoted for its benefit a considerable sum of money which the government granted to him as a teacher of sciences. From the Institute platform he delivered many lectures on chemistry and kindred subjects. His demonstrations and experiments did not always have the expected results, but this may be accounted for by the fact that he had to work under many disadvantages, often with apparatus made by himself and which was of necessity crude and imperfect. Yet it is affirmed that his lectures were abreast of those on the same subject in any part of the world, and indeed the complaint was sometimes made

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that his discourses were too technical to be enjoyed by the casual listener.

Mention has been made of the daughter who was born at Belfast, in 1817. She was sent to her grandfather's sister in Edinburgh, with whom she lived until the death of that relation, and there she received her early education. Her father went to Scotland and brought her to St. John when she was about twelve years old, and in course of time she founded an academy for young ladies, which enjoyed considerable popularity. Her father assisted, delivering lectures on chemistry once a week, and some of the ladies of today will vividly recall his impatience at stupidity or want of attention on the part of the pupils. Miss Foulis died in Kentville on the 22nd of October 1896, and is well remembered as a gentlewoman of wide culture. Her father married a second time, and two of the five children of that union survive him.

Like his grandfather and father, Robert Foulis died in poverty; not, indeed, in such destitution as the newspaper accounts of that time (Jan. 26, 1866) would lead us to belief, but still in very poor circumstances. He lies buried in lot No. 1061 Juniper Path, Rural Cemetery, but no stone marks his resting place.

Mr. Foulis is described rs a man of middle height, spare, and of rather a florid complexion. His eyes were blue, eyebrows long and well marked, hair brown and somewhat wavy. A miniature of his father is said to resemble him, particularly as regards the upper part of the face, from which I gather that he possessed a very remarkable forehead.

Surgeon, mechanical and civil engineer, artist, engraver, inventor, foundryman, lecturer, scientist,—in all more or less successful,—as a business man he was a failure. Of a trustful disposition, he sometimes placed confidence in those who took advantage of his

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simplicity, and to this weakness is to be attributed much of his want of business success. Let us, then, remember Robert Foulis as a man of remarkable gifts, as one of our pioneer scientists, and as one who was deeply interested in the welfare, educational and otherwise, of his adopted city. He did much for others with little profit to himself. In another sphere and under other conditions he might have had both wealth and power. As it was, he seems to have been a misplaced genius.

PERCY G. HALL.

NOTE.—The maiden name of the first wife of Mr. Foulis, misprinted as Heatham in the first part of this paper, should read Leatham.

OUR FIRST FAMILIES.

Third Paper.

Among the persons named in the census of Acadia taken in 1671, are Jean Blanchard, aged 60, his wife Radegonde Lambert and six children, three sons and three daughters. Blanchard was only moderately well off; being the owner of 12 head of cattle and 9 sheep, and having cultivated the year the census was taken, five arpents of land. As the age of his oldest child is given as 28, he must have been married as early as 1642 and, perhaps, several years earlier, in the days of LaTour and Charnisay. He was undoubtedly one of the original settlers of Acadia and was probably married in France. As his name does not appear among the other "ancient inhabitants" who signed the certificate or memorial of October 1687 in reference to the work done by Charnisay in Acadia, it may be presumed that Jean Blanchard was not then living. If alive in 1687, he would have been 76 years of age. Jean had one son married, Martin, aged 24 years, who had taken for his wife Françoise LeBland, a daughter of Daniel

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LeBland or LeBlanc. Madeline, the oldest daughter, whose age is given as 28, was the wife of Michel Richard, and had seven children. As her oldest child was 14, she must have either been married very young or there is some mistake in her age. But early marriages seem to have been the rule in that family, for her sister Anne, the widow of François Aucoin, although her age is only given as 26, had a child 12 years old. Many of the Acadian women of that time married when very young, most of them were wives before they had reached the age of 20.

The other children of Jean Blanchard, William, aged 21, Bernard, aged 18, and Marie, aged 15, were living at home with their parents when the census of 1671 was taken. When the census of 1686 was taken, all the members of the Blanchard family were still living at Port Royal, but the census of 1714 shows that some of them had removed to Mines. Port Royal, however, continued the home of most of the Blanchards for many years. In 1730, when the inhabitants of the Annapolis River took the oath of allegiance, the roll was signed by six adult males of the name of Blanchard. There were only two families of that name deported from Mines by Winslow in 1755, but in 1752, among the Acadians who were under the protection of Fort Beausejour, were thirteen families of Blanchards, two from Port Royal, two from Petitcodiac, one from Menurdy, three from Shepody and six from Memramcook. There are now about one hundred families of the name in New Brunswick, three fourths of whom live in the County of Gloucester, and most of the remainder in Kent. In Nova Scotia there are only a few families of that name. In this province the Blanchards have flourished, contributing members to the legislature and to Parliament.

Antoine Babin, aged forty-five, was a resident of

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Port Royal in 1671, when the census was taken. His wife was Marie Mercier, a name that does not appear among the male heads of families in Acadia at that time. But in 1686 Pierre Mercier, aged forty, was residing at Chignecto, he having married Andree Martin, the widow of Francis Pellerin, five or six years previously. This Pierre Mercier was probably a brother of Marie the wife of Antoine Babin, for she, judging from the age of her oldest child, was not more than thirty years old when the census of 1671 was taken, which would make her forty-five in 1686. She must have been married in 1660 or 1661, ten years after the death of Charnisary. There is nothing to show when Antoine Babin came to Acadia except that he was residing at Port Royal in 1671. His name does not appear among the ancient inhabitants who signed the memorial of 1687, and this fact would lead us to infer that he came to Acadia after 1650 and did not belong to the original La Have colony. This belief is strengthened by the fact that no woman who had been born a Babin was living in Acadia in 1671. Antoine Babin's children were Marie born 1662, Charles, Vincent, Jean and Margaret, all younger than Marie. Antoine Babin in 1671 was the owner of eight sheep and six horned cattle, and he tilled that year two arpents of land. The Babin family were still residing at Port Royal in 1686, but in 1714 they had all left the place and removed to Mines. The list of those who were residing on the Annapolis River in 1730, and who then took the oath of allegiance, shows no person named Babin, but there were two by the name of Babinot, which may have been a corruption of the original name. When the Acadians were removed in 1755, by Winslow, there were among them seventeen families named Babin who were residents of Mines and its vicinity. Among the great body of Acadians

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gathered at Beausejour in 1752 there was but one family named Babin, from which we may infer that very few persons of that name had strayed from Mines. There are now less than one hundred families of the name in the Maritime Provinces, more than half of whom are residents of Yarmouth County. In New Brunswick there are about twenty families of the name, most of whom reside in the county of Kent. The name of Babineau is much more widely diffused but we have no means of knowing whether the persons who bear the latter name are descendants of the original settler, Antoine Babin. One thing is certain there were no French inhabitants named Babineau in Acadia when it passed into the possession of the English in 1710. For this reason, we are inclined to think that Babin and Babineau are the same name with a variation in the spelling, such changes being very likely to occur among an unlettered people.

Vincent Brun, aged 60, was a resident of Port Royal in 1671. His wife was Renee Brode and they had five children, four daughters and one son. The oldest of the family was Madeline, aged 25. She was thewife of William Trahan, who was thirty years her senior. Andrée, the second daughter, aged 24, was the wife of Germain Terriau. Françoise, the third daughter, aged 18, was married to Bernard Bourc. The fourth daughter, Marie, was only 12 when the census was taken. The son, Bastie, was 15 years old. Vincent Brun was the owner of 10 horned cattle and 4 sheep, and he tilled 5 arpents of land. His three married daughters were also well off, as wealth was reckoned in Acadia two centuries ago. Vincent Brun must have been married as early as 1644, a year before the death of Lady Latour. He was probably one of the original La Have settlers, and therefore may be classed with the ancient inhabitants. The fact that his name

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does not appear in the memorial of 1687 would lead to the inference that he had died prior to that date. The Brun family was living at Port Royal in 1686, but the name is not to be found in the census of Port Royal taken in 1714. I fancy, however, that both at Port Royal aud Mines it is concealed under the bad writing of the person who took the census, Father Felix Pain, and that the copyists have to bear the responsibility of its disappearance. At all events there were no less than five adult males named Brun, residents of the Annapolis River, who subscribed to the oath of allegiance in 1730; and in 1755 there were six families named Brun residing at Mines. Among the Acadians gathered at Beausejour in 1752 were one family named Brun from that vicinity and four families of the name from Shepody. The name is now rare in the Maritime Provinces and one reason for this might be that Brun is the same as Brown, so that a French family of Bruns residing in an English neighborhood would speedily become Browns. There are now only seven families by the name of Brun in the Maritime Provinces, three in Kent, three in Northumberland and one in Gloucester.

Antoine Bourc was one of the ancient inhabitants of Acadia who signed his name to the memorial of 1687, where his name appears as Antoine Le Bourg, but in the census of 1671 is is given as written above. Antoine Bourc was 62 years old when that census was taken; his wife was Antoinette Landray and they had eleven children, five sons and six daughters. The oldest son Francois, aged 27, was married to Margaret Boudrot and had two children. Jean Bourc, the second son aged 24, was married to Margaret Martin and they also had two children. Bernard Bourc, the third son, aged 23, was also married; his wife was Francoise Brun and they had one child. The fourth son, Martin, aged 21, was not married. The youngest son Abraham,

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then only 9 years old, was destined to become a historical character, in a small way after the English took possession of Acadia. Molin, who took the census, does not give the name of the daughters, but only one of them appears to have been married in 1671. This was Marie who was the wife of Vincent Brot, and who had four children, one of these a boy of five years. Marie was probably not more than 25, so that her husband, whose age was forty, was fifteen years her senior. Perrine Bourc, who was the wife of Rene Landry, aged 53, may also have been a daughter of Antoine Bourc, but I am more inclined to think she was his sister. She had seven children, the oldest, a daughter, being the wife of Laurant Grange and having two children. The Bourcs were all in comfortable circumstances, although not so wealthy as some of the other Acadian families. Antoine Bourc was probably married as early as 1642, and I have no doubt that he was one of the original settlers that came to La Have with de Razilly. When the census of 1686 was taken none of the Bourcs had removed from Port Royal, but in 1714 some of them were settled at Mines. In the meantime they had changed the spelling of their name to Bourg and Bourq. In 1720 Alexander Bourg had become a leading man among the French residents at Mines and was named by Governor Phillips as one of the persons whom he would be willing to receive as a deputy. In 1627, Abraham Bourg of Annapolis River was accused of inciting the inhabitants to rebellion and disobedience. He was imprisoned but released, as the record states, "in consequence of his great age." He was then 65 years old. He was given permission to leave the province. Of this permission, however, he does not seem to have availed himself, for he was one of the five oldest males of the name of Bourg who took the oath of allegiance at Annapolis in 1730.

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On the 10th of Dec. 1730, Alexander Bourg de Bellehumeur was appointed and formally commissioned by Governor Phillips as *Procureur du Roi* at Mines and Piziguid, Cobequit and Chignecto, to receive all dues and quit rents due to his majesty and all confiscations and *aubaines*. He was to account twice a year and to retain a certain percentage as his commission. This Alexander may have been a son of Abraham, the deputy for Annapolis River. It will be observed that he had assumed a title, probably the name he gave to his farm at Mines. He continued to fill the important office to which he had been appointed for fourteen years, or until 1744, when he was suspended for misconduct and neglect of duty and René LeBlanc appointed in his place. The inhabitants, however, still persisted in employing him to do their legal business in spite of his suspension, and this was made a ground of complaint against them. Alexander Bourg appears to have removed from Mines prior to the deportation of the Acadians by Winslow in 1755,, for his name does not appear in the list of the inhabitants of that place. Only two families named Bourg are on Winslow's list. But in 1752 there were fourteen families named Bourc or Bourg at Beausejour, five from Cobequid and the others from settlements in the vicinity of the Fort. The name Bourc has now altogether disappeared from the Maritime Province, the modern spelling of the name being Bourque. There are now nearly three hundred families of that name in the Maritime Provinces, about half of them being in the county of Westmorland. One half of the remainder live in Kent and Northumberland. A few of the latter spell their name Bourke, but there is no doubt that all these people Bourques or Bourkes are descendants of the original settler, Antoine Bourc, whose name first appears in the census of 1671. JAMES HANNAY.

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AT PORTLAND POINT.

Fifth Paper

"The lands are very valuable if they may be had." So wrote James Simonds to Wm. Hazen in the first business letter extant (so far as we know) of the many that passed between Simonds and White and their New England partners. The date of the letter is August 18, 1764, and the original is in the possession of the writer, a yellow, well worn affair in some places well nigh indecipherable.

It will be remembered that James Simonds had made choice of the harbor of St. John as a place of settlement mainly, on account of the excellent marsh lands in the vicinity and the abundance of the limestone, combined with the advantages of the situation for Indian trade and fishing. The first grant of land was made October 2, 1765, to James Simonds, Richard Simonds and James White, and it does not appear that it was the original intention of these gentlemen to admit their New England partners to a share in the ownership of the lands, the procuring of which they perhaps not unnaturally regarded as a little speculation of their own. The other partners, however, soon manifested a strong desire to possess some real estate in Nova Scotia—land hunger seemingly was a weakness with the descendants of the old Puritans—and the following passage in Mr. Simonds' letter to Samuel Blodget, of Boston, is evidently written in reply to inquiries on this head. The letter is dated at Halifax, October 1, 1764.

"With respect to lands, there is no prospect of ever getting a grant of any value from this government though doubtless whatever asked for in England, if right steps is taken, may be had with little cost; several large grants have lately been made there. The land is very valuable."

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Mr. Blodget evidently did not come under the terms of the royal proclamation of October, 1763, whereby lands were to be granted to those who had served His Majesty in arms during the recent war in America; consequently Mr. Simonds was not able to extend to him any encouragement, and this disappointment was one of the causes of Mr. Blodget's early retirement from the co-partnership.

In the second business contract, made in April, 1767, between Hazen, Jarvis, Simonds and White, it was agreed that all the lands that had been or should be granted to any of the partners should go into the common stock and be divided, one half to Hazen and Jarvis, one third to Simonds and one sixth to White.

About the year 1765, the government of Nova Scotia began to make grants to disbanded officers of the army and navy, including officers who had served in the provincial corps of the old colonies, in a very rash and prodigal fashion. James Simonds was too keenly alive to his own and his partner's interests to allow so good an opportunity of participating in the general distribution to pass unimproved. Writing from "St. John's River," Dec. 16th, 1764, he says:—

"I have been trying and have a great prospect of getting one or two Rights (or shares) for each of us concerned (in our Company), and to have my choice in the Townships of this River, the land and title as good as any in America, confirmed by the King in answer to our petition."

On the occasion of a trip to Halifax three months later, he wrote to Mr. Hazen:—

"I have seen Captain Glazier who informs me that he is getting a grant of a large tract of land at St. John's for a number of Officers and that your brother* is one of them.

The upshot of the enterprise was the procuring of a grant of the five townships of Conway, Gage, Burton, Sunbury and New Town, comprising in all more than

*Captain Moses Hazen.

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400,000 acres.* The grantees were Captain Beamsley Glazier. Captain Thomas Falconer, and some sixty associates. The conditions rendered it necessary that a certain number of settlers should be placed on them within a limited number of years or the lands were liable to forfeiture. An immediate attempt was made by Captain Falconer and Captain Glazier to procure settlers and improve the townships. Men were brought from New England, mills were built and some progress made, but the task was gigantic and the progress necessarily slow. As early as the 27th of January, 1765, the scheme had been so far perfected that Captain Falconer engaged one Richard Barlow as a store keeper, promising him a lease of 200 acres of land at a nominal rent; Barlow thereupon removed with his family to the river St. John, where the company's headquarters was to be established. In all probability the trade name of the corporation by which Barlow was employed was "Beamsley Glazier & Co." The account books of Simonds and White show that they had business transactions with a firm bearing this name, extending over a period of six years, beginning with 1765.

In addition to being largely instrumental in procuring the grants of the townships,† Colonel Glazier was actively concerned in the attempts to effect their settlement. He very probably lived at the mouth of the Nerepis, where he owned an estate of 5,000 acres known as Glazier's Manor, extending from Brundage's Point up the river two or three miles above the Nerepis. At what is now known as Woodman's Point there was some land that had been cleared by the Acadians where stood an old French fort on the site of which musket balls

*Conway and New Town were estimated to contain 50,000 acres each; Gage and Burton 100,000 each; Sunbury 125,000; but as a rule the townships were found to contain more than the estimated number of acres.

†Hazen and Jarvis paid Colonel Glazier £45 as their proportion of the assessment made upon the proprietors of the townships for defraying necessary expenses incurred in their behalf.

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and other warlike relics have been found. In Morris' well known map of 1765, this fort is placed just above the mouth of the Nerepis and is called "Beauhebert Fort," doubtless in honor of Pierre Boishebert, the last French commander on the St. John, who made it his stronghold in 1749. Woodman's Point, or Beaubear's Point as it used to be called, was considered in early times as about the best salmon fishery on the St. John river. The Nerepis river was formerly known as "Beaubear's river." Shortly after the arrival of the Loyalists, Glazier's Manor passed into the hands of General Coffin, and was thenceforth known as Alwyngton or Coffin's Manor.*

So far as our information goes it would seem that the efforts of Messrs. Falconer and Glazier were principally confined to the townships of Gage and Conway. The township of Gage was laid out in lots and the lots drawn by the proprietors early in the year 1767, as we learn from a letter of Simonds & White to Hazen & Jarvis written from St. John's River, June 20, 1767, in which the following passage occurs :—

"When Col. Glasier left this place he was in such a hurry, the vessel being bound directly to sea, that we could not make a complete settlement, not having the people's accounts up the River that had worked on the mills, logging, &c. We have inclosed his order for what could be settled. . . . . .

"The lots in Gage Town are drawn, Moses and William Hazen Nos. 53, 54, Mr. Simonds No. 12, none of them either the best or worst in the Township. . . If young cattle are cheap at your place we recommend sending some every opportunity; the growth of them is profitable, and the King's Instructions to

*In 1784 Elias Hardy was employed to investigate the state of the old grants on the St. John river, with a view to their being escheated for the accommodation of the Loyalists. Mr. Hardy claimed Glazier's Manor was partly escheatable as not having been fully settled. It was, however, shewn that in 1779 Nathaniel Gallop and others had made considerable improvements there, built dwellings, barns, outhouses, etc., but the Indians had burnt their houses and destroyed their crops, taking advantage of the distracted state of the country consequent upon the American Revolution. The settlers were thus driven away and others deterred from coming. Governor Parr, in 1783, assured Col. Glazier his lands would not be escheated in view of the exertions he had made. General Coffin then undertook to settle the Manor as required by the original patent, and thus secure it from forfeiture. He induced a considerable number of persons to settle on his lands, amongst them Henry Nase, who had served with him as an officer in the King's American Regiment. In the course of the first year Gen. Coffin expended over £1,200 sterling on the Manor.

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the Government are that three cattle be kept on every fifty acres of land granted."

In April, 1768, there was a meeting of the proprietors of the townships of Burton, Sunbury and New Town, held at New York for the purpose of a division of the lands, when the Rights (or shares) of Moses and William Hazen were allotted and drawn in New Town, and that of James Simonds in Sunbury. At this time the township of Conway, with all the islands in front of the townships, remained undivided. Evidently Mr. Simonds was quite satisfied with the result of the division, for he says in his letter to Hazen & Jarvis of June 22, 1768:—

"The Township of Sunbury is the best in the Patent and New Town is the next to it according to the quantity of land, it will have a good Salmon and Bass Fishery in the river* which the mills are to be built on, which runs through the centre of the tract. The mills are to be the property of the eight proprietors of the Township after seventeen years from this time, and all the Timber also the moment the partition deed is passed."

The lot drawn by James Simonds seems to have included a part at least of the old Ste. Anne's plain, now the site of the city of Fredericton. Benjamin Atherton settled here about the year 1769 in consequence of an agreement made with Mr. Simonds, and kept a store under the name of Atherton & Co., in which Hazen, Simonds and White seem to have had an interest. At the time of the coming of the Loyalists a committee appointed to examine into the condition of the townships and the titles under which the settlers held their lands, reported that "Benjamin Atherton had a good framed house and log barn and about 30 acres of land cleared partly by the French." James Simonds, a little later, exchanged his lot in the township of Sunbury for one in Burton. He also received

*The River was the Nashwaak and the site of the proposed mills was at the town of Marysville where Alex. Gibson's well known Mills and Cotton Factory now stand.

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Ox Island* as his share of the undivided islands.

A few words may be said concerning Richard Shorne, who was one of the proprietors of the townships who endeavored to effect their settlement and improvement, and who for that purpose came to the river St. John, in the year 1767. He resided on the river for several years and during his residence was elected a member of the House of Assembly, for Sunbury County. Simonds and White, in their letter of June 20, 1767, to Hazen and Jarvis write:—

"Mr. Shorne† the bearer of this is a Proprietor in our Lands and has left Ireland with an intention of settling a number of Rights on this river and for that purpose is invested with power from his friends‡ to draw for any sum that may be necessary on this occasion. I must beg your kind assistance and advice on his behalf as he does not appear to be much acquainted with the settlement of Lands; you may with great safety I think take any Bill from him for a moderate sum."

In the same letter from which the above is taken, Mr. Simonds observes that "Mr. Shorne has arrived with some families from New York to settle his own and some other Rights." Other incidental references to Richard Shorne show that he was a resident on the St. John river for some years and that Simonds and White had business transactions with him up to the year 1775. He seems to have lived at St. Ann's Point where goods and supplies from Newburyport were sent to him, for which he paid freight to Simonds and White.

*Ox Island is a small island adjoining Mauger's Island in Lower Burton. Mr. Simonds made some improvements in the state of the island and sold it in October, 1782, to Sylvanus Plummer and Jacob Barker, Jr., for £291. It contains about 60 acres of excellent land.

†The late J. W. Lawrence and others give this gentleman's name as Thorne. I have carefully examined the initial letter in a variety of documents and papers: there can be no doubt that it is S, not T. Mr. Shorne, as stated above, came from Ireland.—W. O. R.

‡Among Mr. Shorne's friends were Rev. Curryl Smith of Alminsta, West Meath, Ireland, and his sons John and Robert Smith of the city of Dublin. Mr. Shorne acted as their attorney. Major Studholme says that John Smith came out from Ireland in the summer of 1782 to effect the settlement of his lands in the townships.

The committee appointed by Gov. Parr to investigate the condition of the townships in 1783, reported that Philip Wade of St. Ann's had "a good house and barn and about 30 acres of improved land chiefly cleared by the French: his claim based on an agreement with Richard Shorne, Esq., one of the original grantees." The committee also reported that one Oliver Tibeaudo had large improvements at St. Ann's and a lease from Richard Shorne, Esq., for 999 years.

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The only other individual of whom we have any evidence as regards his being concerned in any attempt to settle the townships is Philip John Livingston. This gentleman was a member of a distinguished New York family. In the American Revolution he adhered to the Loyalist cause with his entire family—father, brothers and sons. His mother was Catherine de Peyster, and his wife was a daughter of Samuel Bayard. His brother, John W. Livingston, and his brother-in-law, Abraham de Peyster, were captains in Colonel Edmund Fanning's Kings American Regiment. Philip John Livingston himself was high sheriff of Dutchess county, New York, and after the outbreak of the Revolution filled important positions.* He appears to have sent to the river St. John in 1767 some tenants for his lands, among them Peter Carr and Thomas Masterson (who lived at Musquash Island), John Hendrick and James Marrington. Some dispute occurred between Livingston and Simonds & White concerning the charges of the latter for supplies furnished his settlers which led Mr. Simonds to write:

"We are surprised that he should mention anything as to the sums not being due, when not only that, but near as much more has been advanced to save the lives of the wretched crew he sent. We have ever found that ye doing business for others is an office the most unthankful and equally unprofitable."†

The proximity of the township of Conway to the settlement at Portland Point naturally led Messrs. Hazen, Simonds and White to make special efforts for its improvement and it appears that through their instrumentality a number of very respectable people settled there, including Jonathan Leavitt, Samuel Peabody, Daniel Leavitt, Hugh Quinton, Peter Smith, Thomas Jenkins, William McKeen, James Woodman,

*See Jones' Loyalist History of New York.

†In a subsequent letter James Simonds writes: "Mr. Livingston's account we sent with the order that was returned; have enclosed a letter and order which must convince him that not only the sum drawn for has been advanced him, but as much more to his settlers."

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Elijah Estabrook, John Bradley, Zebedee Ring and Gervis Say. Messrs. Peabody, Leavitt and McKeen came in 1770, the others four or five years later.

Upon the close of the Revolutionary war in 1783 the authorities gave notice that all shares in the townships upon the St. John river held by grantees who were non-residents, and on which improvements had not been made, were to be forfeited for the accommodation of the Loyalists. As the settlers of Conway had nearly all been driven from their homes by rebel privateesmen during the recent war, the rights of Hazen, Simonds and White in that township were placed in jeopardy. In this emergency Mr. Hazen went to Halifax, where he represented to the Governor and Council that he and his partners and the settlers under them had expended upwards of £3,000 in making settlements in Conway and Gage, with such other facts as were calculated to tell in their favor. Probably Mr. Hazen availed himself of certain suggestions made by James Simonds in a letter he wrote from Lower Maugerville (now Sheffield), where he then resided, of which letter the following is an extract :—

"I think that if any memorial should be necessary to explain our situation it will be needful to be very explicit in setting forth the time when the settlement was made; . . the difficulty or impossibility of families settling among the Indians against their disapprobation; the expenses of the settlements in Conway; the losses and sufferings of the settlers; that we and they were for a long time unprotected against the depradations of the enemy; and to assign any other reason that may occur why our property ought not to revert to the crown. Instead of our being stripped of our Rights to make amends for the losses of the Loyalists who were plundered in New York or elsewhere we have at least as weighty reasons as they can possibly offer to claim restitution from Government for the value of all the property taken from us, our distresses by imprisonment, &c. They had a numerous British army to protect them, we had to combat the sons of darkness alone. In a word we had much less than they to hope for by unshaken loyalty and incomparably more to fear."

Major Gilfred Studholme, the commandant at Fort Howe, appears to have sympathized with the position

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of Hazen and Simonds since he wrote to Governor Parr about this time:—

"Messrs. Hazen and Simonds, two of the original proprietors of Conway, have at different times placed a number of settlers on the lands of that Township and have used every effort on their parts to comply with the terms of their Grant but the continual robberies committed by the Rebel boats during the war, to which these settlements were totally exposed, obliged a number of their tenants to remove. However as every exertion was used by them, I take the liberty, sir, to recommend their claims on that Township to your consideration."

Whether or not the claims of Hazen and Simonds would have saved their interests in Conway from forfeiture we cannot tell, for a proposal having been made to Mr. Hazen that if they would offer no opposition to the escheat of the entire township their shares in it would either be regranted them or an equivalent elsewhere, he accepted it and afterwards his affidavit of the general state of the township was read at the trial in the court of escheats and was the principal evidence on which the jury found their verdict. The whole of the township was accordingly escheated.

The township of Gage was in like manner escheated, but the lands of bona fide settlers as also those in possession of Colonel William Spry and his tenants were regranted. In the case of the township of Burton, eleven parts, out of twenty-one into which the whole township was divided, were escheated in the court of escheats at Halifax, early in the year 1784.

The township of Sunbury was entirely escheated; regrants were made to Benjamin Atherton and Philip Weade at Ste. Anne's but the Acadians who lived in the township were removed and the majority of them went up the river to Madawaska.

New Town was entirely escheated. In this township William Hazen had two shares, one drawn by himself, the other purchased from his brother, Captain Moses Hazen. By relinquishing his rights here for the accommodation of the Maryland Loyalists he, by the

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interest and influence of Captain Patrick Kennedy of that corps, was enabled to secure in return a grant for himself and James White of 11,000 acres of land lying to the eastward of the marsh at St. John, the same being equivalent to the number of acres in their two lots at New Town. Mr. Hazen makes this statement under oath in the proceedings of a Chancery suit in the year 1795, but Mr. Simonds does not agree with him and in his sworn testimony strongly affirms that Mr. Hazen had no claim for compensation for his rights in New Town which were certain to be escheated, no improvements having been made upon them; that the 11,000 acres east of the marsh were really granted as an equivalent for the surrender of the lands in the township of Conway and that he certainly should himself have had a share with Hazen and White in this grant of 11,000 acres.*

The landed interests of the members of our old trading company became by degrees very extensive and were by no means confined to their rights in the old townships. Mr. Simonds, about the year 1770, purchased from Charles Morris, the surveyor general of Nova Scotia, a tract of 10,000 acres known as Morrisania, situated just below Fredericton and including a part of "the old plain." He also purchased another tract from Charles Morris of 2,000 acres on the east side of the river, just below Mauger's Island, to which he retired for greater security during the Revolutionary war. A grant of 8,000 acres on the northwest side of the Oromocto river was made in the year 1782 to William Hazen, James White, Jacob Barker and Tamberlane Campbell, as disbanded subaltern officers who had served in America during the last French war.

*The relations between the members of the old co-partnership were severely strained in consequence of the disputes that arose about the division of their lands. These disputes culminated in legal proceedings which began about the year 1791 and occupied the attention of the Chancery Court for more than twenty years. The evidence in the Chancery suits abounds in charges and counter charges.

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Notwithstanding the extent and variety of their landed estate, Messrs. Hazen and Simonds had the assurance after the arrival of the Loyalists to memorialize the government for an additional 150,000 acres on the St. John, 5,000 to be close upon the town of Carleton. In transmitting their memorial to the home government, Governor Parr stated that he had refused to consider it, as the memorialists had already about 60,000 acres of land, and he deplored the evil effects of such extensive grants.

In the magnitude of their land speculations, however, the members of our old trading company had a formidable rival in Captain William Spry (afterwards Major General Spry). This gentleman was chief engineer of Nova Scotia, and some of the early defences of Halifax were erected under his supervision. He is known to have frequently visited the St. John river between 1768 and 1773, and in the summer of 1769 accompanied the Rev. Thomas Wood on a missionary tour in which they visited all the English settlements and proceeded up the river as far as the Indian village of Aukpaque.*

Some of the leases issued by Captain Spry in early times are extant. One of these dated July 12, 1770, is the lease of a lot of 200 acres in Gagetown to Edward Coy. Captain Spry is described as of Titchfield in the county of Southampton, England. Among the conditions demanded of Mr. Coy were the payment of the King's quit rents, together with all such charges as province, county, town or parish taxes; also that Coy should "leave a row of trees on each side of the high road that may hereafter be laid out at the distance of about six rods from each other." The rent for the 200 acres demanded by Captain Spry, seems not extravagant to modern eyes, viz., after the expiration of two

*See "The First Fifty Years of the Church of England in New Brunswick by G. Herbert Lee, p. 29.

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years four shillings sterling, per annum, and after four years eight shillings sterling, per annum for ever.* Some of Captain Spry's lands were escheated but in most cases regranted. He died in England about the year 1803 and letters of administration were taken out in this province by his daughter. He was a man of wealth and influence.

James Simonds acted as attorney and agent for General Spry after the return of the latter to England. He also acted in a like capacity for Colonel Stephen Kemble in the management of his estate known as Kemble's Manor,† comprising 20,000 acres at the head of Long Reach.

The history of Portland Point is so interwoven with that of the other early settlements on the river that it is difficult to speak of one without in some measure considering the history of all, and this has been especially the case in the present paper. In our next we shall be able to confine our attention more closely to the story of Portland Point in pre-loyalist days; in this connection, however, a few words may be said regarding some of the more prominent individuals with whom the settlers at the mouth of the river were brought in contact in the way of business or familiar intercourse.

Captain Walter Sterling, of the navy, was at St. John in August, 1775, and had some business transactions with Simonds and White, which are recorded in their old account books. He no doubt came for the purpose of examining and perhaps to arrange for the

*The original Indenture to Edward Coy is in the possession of Dr. W. F. Ganong of Smith College, Northampton, Mass. It is a printed document, evidently one of several of like kind, and is signed by James Simonds as Attorney for General Spry. At the end of the document occur the words "Registered at 11 o'clock in the forenoon on Tuesday, January the 2nd, 1776, pursuant to the laws of this province by me, John Aderson, Dep'y Register." The witnesses were Gervas Say, Esqr., and Deacon Samuel Whitney.

†See the very interesting account of Kemble's Manor by Mr. Jonas Howe, in the September number of this magazine.

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settlement of his grant of 10,000 acres at the foot of Kingston peninsula, now known as "Lands End." The grant was eventually forfeited to the crown.

Another gentleman with whom Simonds and White had business transactions bore the high sounding name of Charles Newland Godfrey Jadis. He had served as captain-lieutenant in the 52nd Regiment and came to Nova Scotia in August, 1769, with his wife and a large family to settle some lands which he had purchased before leaving Europe. He brought with him an assortment of goods for carrying on trade with the Indians, built a house and store at Grimross, and was succeeding very well when, on February 6, 1771, the house and store with all his effects were destroyed by fire. He estimated his loss at £2,000, and strongly suspected the Indians to have been the incendiaries, they having frequently threatened to destroy his property. There had been many complaints of the conduct of the Indians since the dismantling of Fort Frederick in 1768, and Captain Jadis, in his memorial to the authorities, recommended the construction of a Block House* higher up the river to overawe them and protect the increasing settlements. Captain Jadis retired to England, where he endeavored to obtain some compensation for his losses.

The name of Captain Jonathan Eddy appears in one of James White's old account books as the purchaser of 22 grindstones. Captain Eddy was at that time a member of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia for the township of Cumberland and lived not very far from Fort Cumberland, on the New Brunswick side of the isthmus of Chignecto, where he had settled in 1763. His subsequent relations with Hazen, Simonds and White were not of so peaceable a

*A Block House was built at the mouth of the Oromocto during the Revolutionary war and called Fort Hughes. Lieutenant Constant Connor commanded the post.

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character. Eddy was a native of Norton, Mass., and had strong sympathy with the Americans in the Revolutionary war. In the latter part of 1776 he made an attempt to capture Fort Cumberland, then held by a rather weak garrison of the Royal Fencible Americans under Col. Joseph Gorham. His party consisted of some of the Machias people, about one hundred residents of Cumberland and a party of sympathizers from the St. John river; the latter consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, twenty five men and sixteen Indians. Among the party were Hugh Quinton, Daniel Leavitt, Wm. McKeen, Elijah Esterbrook, Edward Burpee, John Whitney, Benjamin Booby, Thomas Hartt, Amasa Coy, John Pickard, John Mitchell, Edmund Price and Richard Parsons. The attempt resulted in a disastrous failure, and Jonathan Eddy and his leading supporters fled to Machias. On May 24, 1776—the same year the attack was made on Fort Cumberland—a meeting of the inhabitants of the river St. John was summoned at Maugerville, when a committtee of twelve persons was appointed to communicate with the Massachusetts Congress. This committee prepared a series of resolutions which were passed by the meeting, the most treasonable being, "That it is our minds and desire to submit ourselves to the government of Massachusetts Bay, and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to share with them the event of the present struggle for Liberty however God in His Providence may order it." The meeting also voted "That we will have no dealings or connection with any person or persons for the future that shall refuse to enter into the foregoing or similar resolutions." By means of threats and persuasions the great majority of the inhabitants were led to sign these resolutions, indeed the rebel committee claimed in their report to the Massachusetts government that not more than twelve or thirteen heads of

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families had refused to sign, of whom nine were at the River's mouth. The committee included Jacob Barker, Phinehas Nevers and Israel Perley (who were magistrates), Daniel Palmer, Edward Coy, Israel Kinney, Asa Perley, Moses Pickard, Thomas Hartt, Hugh Quinton, Asa Kimball and Oliver Perley. The failure of Jonathan Eddy's attempt on Fort Cumberland soon caused a change of attitude on the part of the inhabitants of the St. John river who were inclined to rebellion, and when in May, 1777, Col. Arthur Goold was sent with a force to exact their submission, he experienced little difficulty, the great majority taking the oath of allegiance to the King. The apology of the settlers for their disloyal conduct was evidently drafted by Israel Perley and was presented to Col. Goold on May 16, 1777. It reads as follows :—

"In the year 1775 the Privateers from the westward frequented our coasts and cut off our trade from the other side of the Bay, a vessel was taken in our Harbor and the King's Fort burnt, the Inhabitants here were destitute of Ammunition to defend themselves, a return was made to Government of this deficiency but no answer received. In May, 1776, two Privateers came into the Harbor, their boats proceeded up the River and informed the people that this Province was soon to be invaded from the westward, that Privateers were thick on the coast and would stop all manner of commerce with us unless we joined them; not only so, but if the colonies must be put to the expense of conquering us they must be paid for their trouble, consequently our estates must be forfeited. About the same time some Indians returned from Boston and brought letters to the others from Gen'l Washington, &c., and the whole tribe was entering into alliance with the Colonies and threatened some of the people to kill them if they would not join the Boston men (as they called them). In this condition neglected (as it appeared) by Government we had a General meeting and unanimously agreed to submit ourselves to the Government of Massachusetts Bay. Since that time we confess we have acted in opposition to his Majesty's Government. And as your Honor is pleased to tell us that you bring the Olive Branch of Peace, we humbly crave the benefit, and as we were jointly concerned in the first transgressions we now humbly request that no distinction be made as to pardon; there being in this place as in all others private prejudices and contentions, and perhaps some persons may avail themselves of this opportunity to get revenge by representing their private enemies the greatest enemies of Government. We earnestly request that no such complaints may prevail upon your Honor to

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make any distinction with regard to any person on the River, and we beg your Honor's answer to this petition from your Honor's most humble servants,

ISRAEL PERLEY,
SETH NOBLE,
JONATHAN BURPEE,
ELISHA NEVERS, Jun'r.

In his reply Col. Goold stated that he had come with general instructions of clemency and oblivion for what had passed, and that his ears would be shut to all insinuations as to the honesty of their submission. As their letter seemed to breathe the sentiments of a sincere repentance for inconsiderate follies past, he had no doubt it would meet with as favorable consideration at the hands of the government as they could desire.

Israel Perley, who conducted the negotiations with Colonel Goold, figures conspicuously in the early history of the St. John river. He was a capable magistrate and at one time a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly—as he was afterwards of the New Brunswick legislature. The part he played in the exploration of the river St. John in 1761, when a young man just turned twenty one, and in the subsequent survey and settlement of the township of Maugerville are so generally known, through the lectures of Moses H. Perley, his accomplished grandson, that we need not further consider them here.

Phinehas Nevers, whose name has been mentioned as one of the rebel committee of 1776, had been elected in 1768 a member for the County of Sunbury in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly. He was an original grantee of the township of Maugerville and one of its early magistrates. He was by profession a physician, probably the first who resided on the river. The medical profession was not a lucrative one in his day. The accounts of Simonds & White show that John Lowell, one of their employees, died on February 25, 1773, and that he was attended during his sickness by Dr. Nevers.

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who came down from Maugerville for the purpose. The doctor received £1. 4. 0 for his board for 16 days and £2 for his professional services. Although Dr. Nevers was elected a member of the House of Assembly and was a Justice of the Peace, he did not prove a loyal subject at the time of the Revolution, for when the Machias rebels under John Allan invaded the river St. John in 1777, he joined them, and when a little later they were compelled to decamp he accompanied them to Machias, where he thenceforth resided.

W. O. RAYMOND.

IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

A CHRISTMAS NUMBER.

The December number of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE will be a double number, illustrated so far as the nature of the contents will admit of illustration, and with a variety of good papers by leading writers, in addition to the regular series of continued articles. Some of these will relate particularly to matters connected with Christmas and the winter season in provincial history, among which will be:—

The March of the 104th, by James Hannay; A Notable Halifax Mystery, by Harry Piers; The Wreck of the Ship England; The Story of a Monument, by Jonas Howe; The Early Days of the Electric Telegraph; Christmas as It Was, by Clarence Ward, etc. A paper of special value will be that of Prof. W. F. Ganong, on the effect of the Ashburton Treaty in respect to these provinces. Other papers by new writers are expected, but the subjects cannot be announced at the time of writing.

The December number will be sold to non-subscribers at twenty-five cents, and a double edition will

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be issued. All who have friends at a distance should see that copies are sent to them.

The December number will contain the announcement of a number of deeply interesting topics which are to be dealt with in THE MAGAZINE in 1899.

BACK NUMBERS WANTED.

THE MAGAZINE has reached its fifth number with a much larger patronage than was ever gained by any of the provincial magazines of the past in a much longer period, and at this early date its circulation is equal to the last of those magazines, the Maritime Monthly, in the most prosperous days of its existence. The showing is therefore excellent, and what is better the circulation continues to gain each month. When it is considered that only a partial canvass has been made in St. John, and none whatever outside of the city, the prospects are of the most encouraging kind. Unfortunately, success brings its troubles, and one of these is to furnish full sets to all who want to start from the beginning. The supply of July numbers is exhausted, and at least a hundred copies are needed, in order to accommodate new subscribers. For each of such copies sent by mail or delivered at the office, Ferry building, Water street, St. John, the publisher will be glad to pay fifteen cents cash. This is the full retail price, and it means a slight loss to us on each copy, but the aim is to oblige patrons at any reasonable cost. Those who have copies of the July number to spare will very greatly oblige by forwarding them as already directed.

THE YEAR OF THE FEVER.

It is gratifying to know that the statements made in the September number of THE MAGAZINE, in regard

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to the ship fever at St. John, in 1847, are commended for their accuracy by the one man competent to judge of them, Dr. W. S. Harding. As was stated in the sketch, Dr. Harding shared with Dr. Collins the perils of that fearful season, but was spared where his fellow worker died. The following letter explains itself:—

EDITOR OF THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE:

SIR:—In the October number of your MAGAZINE you furnish some brief details of the typhus fever epidemic as it prevailed at St. John in 1847, your narrative referring chiefly to Partridge Island.

The facts and incidents relating to the disease as it prevailed on the Island, recorded by you, I can say from personal observation, are very accurately stated.

From having been on the Island and taken an active part, during most of that summer, in the things which then occurred, the perusal now of your information I found very interesting. It seemed to bring to my mind a picture of horrors and ghastliness which may only be witnessed once in a lifetime. As a parallel case, however, in St. John history we may place beside it the cholera epidemic of 1854. As you remark, to give anything like a full account of the typhus epidemic of 1847 would make a long story, which I have no intention of trying to fill out, and will only repeat that your statements, as far as they go, are very accurate.

The mention you make of the wholesale burial of the dead resorted to, in one instance forty of the dead being buried uncoffined in a single pit, was quite an exceptional instance. The reason for so large a number of the dead remaining above ground so long was that no doctor or superintendent was then on the Island to look after matters. It was on my return, after recovery from the fever, that interment was made in the only way it could be done, owing to the insufficiency of men able to work.

The death rate of the typhus epidemic of 1847 was very large. As showing to what degree of intensity the infection of that epidemic had attained, I present a

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copy of a clipping I made some years ago from a Montreal paper :—

"A BRAVE PHYSICIAN DEAD."

"MONTREAL, Nov. 5th, 1880.—Dr. Smith, who died yesterday, was born in Montreal in 1826, of German extraction. He was one of the thirty physicians from Montreal, Quebec, Three Rivers and elsewhere, who volunteered to go to the quarantine station at Grosse Island, to attend ships as they arrived during the ship fever outbreak of 1847. Of the thirty only he and another returned alive to their homes."

Another striking fact in this connection—which you have mentioned—was the effect of typhus fever, together with the exodus, in reducing the population of Ireland at that time, from eight million to five million.

I am your obedient servant,

W. S. HARDING.

St. John, N. B., October 14, 1898.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

QUESTIONS.

25. In the Educational Review for October, it is stated (p. 87) on the authority of Mr. I. Allen Jack that New Brunswick's plant emblem is the *potato!!* But Mr. Jack is unable to give more than a single reference to its use in this connection. Where else in print is the potato thus honored? W. F. G.

26. The University building at Fredericton used to be called by the students "the Wan-i-gun." Is the term still used? How old is it? What is its origin?

W. F. G.

27. In January, 1839, James Wilson advertises in the St. John Herald that he has "taken for a term of years that establishment known as Mount Pleasant, owned by the Hon. Wm. Black, and will open the same under the name of Mount Pleasant Hotel." In what part of the city or vicinity was that situated?

C. F. D.

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28. In what year were Poulett Thompson and others hanged and burned in effigy on the King Square, St. John? A. G. B.

29. A boat much used in St. John harbor by the early settlers was the "Moses" boat. Whence is the name derived, and how was the boat built and rigged? C. W.

30. The St. John alms house, James O. Betts, keeper, was burned March 1, 1829. Where was this building situated? W. H. B.

31. What is the date of the opening of Trinity church burial ground, beyond the Marsh Bridge? P. C.

32. When was the first battery built at Reed's Point, and what was it called? J. M. B.

33. How many words are there, excluding of course place-names, which are strictly indigenous to New Brunswick? *Aboideau* is peculiar to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and *Albertite* to New Brun s wick alone. Are there any others? W. F. G.

34. In the Dictionary of National Biography, it is said of Willliam Knox, under secretary of state for America up to 1782, "on his suggestion the province of Brunswick was created in 1784." If true, this entitles him to a place in our history not hitherto accorded him. But is it true, at least in the important sense implied? W. F. G.

ANSWERS.

9. Edward Shey, schoolmaster of Rawdon, was found dead at daylight on the morning of December 26, 1824 on the square in front of the officers' quarters at the North Barracks, Halifax, with a wound in the right breast. Ensign Richard Cross, of the 96th Regiment, was arrested on suspicion of having committed the murder, and was tried on January 18, 1825,

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before Mr. Justice Halliburton and Mr. Justice Stewart. The evidence for the prosecution was contradicted in some particulars, and Cross was acquitted.

HARRY PIERS, Halifax.

13. I have read with interest the answers given, in your October issue, by Dr. W. F. Ganong and Mr. George Johnson, regarding the origin of the word "aboideau." It seems to me to be a word of Acadian origin, rather than indigenous. As Dr. Ganong points out, it may possibly be a corruption or alteration of "une boîte d'eau," or "à la boîte d'eau." The Acadians have, in their language, peculiar words and expressions which are not to be found in the Province of Quebec; they have also, as in some of the French "patois," abbreviated and corrupted French words to replace or elude a locution or two or three words. Mr. Johnson's explanation is, to my sense, completely out of the way; his theory cannot be accepted by any one familiar with the French language. The word "aboi" means the barking of a dog; and "to keep at bay" is rendered in French by "aux abois;" "le cerf est aux abois"—the stag is kept at bay, or simply is at bay. Neither of the two can be used before the "d'eau"—water—and form a sentence. It has no sense whatever. RAOUL RENAULT, Quebec.

16. St. John fog alarm. This question is fully answered in Mr. Hall's paper on Robert Foulis, in this number of THE MAGAZINE.

22. The "Chebacco" boat was one with a half deck forward, extending back to about midships, with the after part of the boat open, and it had one mast. This boat was much used on the coast of Massachusetts, and derived its name from Chebacco, a small town near Ipswich. The design of the boat was brought here by the Massachusetts Loyalists, who had been accustomed to the use of it. GLOSTER.

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23. Lieut. William R. Cleeve, of the Royal Artillery, was thrown from his horse while riding near the Marsh Bridge, St. John, on Friday, August 16, 1833, and died on the following Sunday. He was buried with full military honors, and the funeral was the most imposing, as well as the greatest in length, ever witnessed in St. John up to the time of the funeral of Dr. Collins, in 1847. The procession started from the officers' barracks, Main street, Lower Cove, and reached well up to the Old Burial Ground, where the interment took place. His grave is marked by a stone with a lengthy inscription, the concluding sentence of which reads—"His friends among the inhabitants of this city, by whom he was more intimately known, erected this tribute to his worth." J. A.

The present number of THE MAGAZINE is 64 pages, or 16 pages more than the size on which subscriptions were asked. It is hoped that the public will appreciate this and other efforts to give them more than value for their money.

The autograph of Brook Watson, which should have accompanied the sketch of that notable, by Mr. Clarence Ward, in the August number, shows no mean style of penmanship in the sailor boy who became Lord Mayor of London.



In view of the increasing expense of publication, it may be well to note that much too large a proportion of the subscribers, especially some at a distance, have failed to remit. This is doubtless due to inadvertence, but it should be remembered that the terms are payment in advance, and that each month's expense of publication means a large cash outlay.

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PROVINCIAL CHRONOLOGY.

An event of general interest, a marriage and a death, are given for each day of the month. The marriage and death notices are given as they appeared in the newspapers of the time, except that such phrases as "At St. John" and "on the — inst." are not repeated. Where nothing appears to the contrary, the locality may be assumed to be St. John, while the date of the marriage or death is indicated by the figures of the day of the month before the names and of the year immediately after them.

MEMORANDA FOR NOVEMBER.

1.	Waverley House, St. John, opened,.....	1850
2.	Edward, Duke of Kent, born,.....	1767
3.	Fire at Dalhousie; 22 buildings burned,.....	1886
4.	Rioting in Montreal.....	1837
5.	Redburn kills Patrick Carling at St. John.....	1846
6.	Episcopal church at Woodstock opened,.....	1836
7.	Dark day in St. John prevents church services,.....	1819
8.	New N. B. Provincial Lunatic Asylum building opened,	1849
9.	First telegraph message, St. John and Halifax,.....	1849
10.	Ball in honor of Sir Fenwick Williams, at St. John,..	1858
11.	Great fire at Fredericton,.....	1850
12.	Heavy gale; 70 vessels ashore at Halifax,.....	1819
13.	Streets of St. John lighted by gas lamps,.....	1846
14,	First Lunatic Asylum in Canada opened at St. John..	1835
15.	Great fire in St. John,.....	1841
16.	Jordan, pirate and murderer, convicted at Halifax..	1809
17.	Highland Society, St. John, organized,.....	1842
18.	David Waterbury, Loyalist, died, aged 75,.....	1833
19.	St. John Chamber of Commerce thanks Sir S. Cunard for ocean steamship service,.....	1839
20.	Rebels repulsed at Fort Cumberland.....	1776
21.	First steamer at port of Quebec,.....	1816
22.	Governor Carleton sworn in at Parr Town.....	1784
23.	Baldwin and Lannon hanged at St. John for murder of Clayton Tilton,.....	1808
24.	Grand Manan, etc., declared British Territory,.	1817
25.	First judiciary of New Brunswick sworn in,.....	1784
26.	Great gale; steamer North America lost,.....	1846
27.	Lord Wm. Campbell appointed governor of N. S.....	1766
28.	Chief Justice Parker buried at St. John,.....	1855
29.	Bishop Burke dies at Halifax, aged 77,.....	1820
30.	Martial law proclaimed in Nova Scotia.....	1775

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NOVEMBER MARRIAGES.

1. RAYMOND-SHECK.—1855. At the residence of the bride's father, by the Rev. Thomas McGhee, Thomas Raymond, Esq., to Charlotte V. Fowler, daughter of Daniel Sheck, Esq., all of Sussex.

2. CARVILL-MERCER.—1848. By the Rev. Dr. I. W. D. Gray, Mr. Lewis Carvill, of the parish of Portland, to Miss Hannah G., second daughter of Mr. Joseph Mercer, of the parish of St. John.

3. BENNISON-BARNES.—1846. By W. W. Eaton, Mr. Edward Bennison to Miss Marion Barnes, of this city.

4. SEAMAN-BROWN.—1847. In St. John, by the Rev. Dr. I. W. D. Gray, Rector, Amos T. Seaman, Esq., of Minudie, Nova Scotia, to Martha Carritt, daughter of T. J. Brown, Esq., of Truro.

5. WILMOT-BLACK.—1835. At Belle Vue, in Halifax, N. S., by the Rev. Mr. Knight, Wesleyan Missionary, Lemuel Allan Wilmot, Esquire, of Fredericton, New Brunswick, Barrister at Law and Member of the House of Assembly, to Margaret Elizabeth, second daughter of William A. Black, Esquire, of Halifax.

6. DEVEBER-MILNER.—1844. At Westfield, by the bride's father, Nathaniel Hubbard DeVeber, Esquire, of Sheffield, to Miss Bertha, youngest daughter of the Rev. Christopher Milner, Rector of Westfield.

7. OLIVE-SCAMMELL.—1844. At the residence of Mr. B. Tilton, Falls' Side, Parish of Lancaster, by the Rev. F. Coster, James, son of Isaac Olive, Esq., of Carleton, to Miss Harriet Scammell, of the above parish.

8. WRIGHT-FRITH.—1859. At St. Johns, Notting hill, London, by the Rev. W. H. Shore, incumbent of All Saints, Child's-hill, John W. Wright, Esquire, of Ceylon, second son of John Wright, Esquire, late Collector of Customs at Miramichi, New Brunswick, to Anna Eliza, only daughter of Frederic C. Frith, Esquire, late Deputy Store Keeper, War Department.

9. HENNIGAR-PURDY.—1834.—By the Rev. Dr. Gray, Mr. Stephen Bamford Hennigar, to Ann Amelia, youngest daughter of Mr. Samuel Purdy, all of St. John.

10. MORRIS-MCGUIRK.—1846.—At St. Malachy's church, by the Very Rev. James Dunphy. Vicar General, Mr. Hugh Morris, of Mosquito Cove, to Miss Margaret, eldest daughter of Mr. Michael McGuirk, of this city.

11. GEROW-TRAVIS.—1851. By the Rev. Wm. Harrison, Mr. George W. Gerow, to Miss Julia A., only daughter of James Travis, Esq., of Indian Town.

12. CUSHING-SCAMMELL.—1856. At the Waverley House, by the Rev. I. W. D. Gray, G. B. Cushing, Esq., of Frankfort, (Me.) to Annie T., daughter of Joseph Scammell, Esq., of this City.

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13. GODARD-MCMACKIN.—1839. By the Rev. Mr. Harrison, Mr. John F. Godard, of the Parish of Portland, to Annabell, only daughter of Mr. Thomas McMackin, of this city.

14. MARSTERS-MARSTERS.—1839. By the Rev. Samuel Bancroft, Mr. John F. Marsters, to Charlotte Elizabeth, second daughter of Mr. James Marsters, all of this City,

15. BURTIS-GOODRICH.—1842. At Hamden, by the Rev. Thomas S. Judd, William R. ". Burtis, Esquire, Barrister, of St. John, N. B., to Harriet Eugenia, youngest daughter of Richard M. Goodrich, M. D., of Hamden, Delaware County, New York.

16. TRUEMAN-BENT.—1847. At Fort Lawrence, N. S., by the Rev. William Smithson, Mr. Edward S. Trueman, to Miss Sarah A. second daughter of Martin Bent, Esq.

17. BLISS-FORSTER.—1849. At Trinity Church, by the Lord Bishop ot the Diocese, the Rev. Charles Parke Bliss, A. M., Missionary of Hopewell, and fourth son of the late Geo. P. Bliss, Esq., Receiver General of the Province of New Brunswick, to Dorothy Anne, only daughter of C. V. Forster, Esq., of H. M. Customs at this port.

18. BARTLETT-HUTCHINSON.—1834. In Trinity Church, by the Rev Dr. Gray, Mr. James H. Bartlett, to Charlotte M., youngest daughter of the late Mr. A. Hutchinson, of St. John.

19. WETMORE-BONNELL.—1846. At St. John's Church, Gage Town, by Rev. N. A. Coster, T. R. Wetmore, Esquire, Barrister at Law, to Mary Ann Sophia, only daughter of the late William Franklin Bonnell, Esquire, of Digby, N. S.

20. BLAKSLEE-BRAYLEY.—1849. By the Rev. S Robinson, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Mr. E. B. A. G. Blakslee, of this City, to Mary A. only daughter of Mr. James Brayley, Merchant, and formerly cf Bideford, Devonshire, England.

21. COLLINS-MCCARTHY.—1839. By the Rev. James Dunphy, Mr. John Collins, to Miss Eleanor McCarthy, both of this City.

22. MCWILLIAMS-OLSON.—1849. By the Very Rev. James Dunphy, V. G., Mr. James McWilliams, of the Parish of Portland, to Mary, eldest daughter of Mr. James Olson, of this City.

23. CRAFT-SNOW.—1860. By the Rev. James Baird, A. M., Mr. Edward John Craft, of Carleton, to Miss Elizabeth Snow, of Portland.

24. ALLISON-KNIGHT.—1847. At the Wesleyan Chapel, in Fredericton, by the Rev. William Smith, the Rev. John Allison, Wesleyan Minister, to Martha Louisa, eldest daughter of the Rev. Richard Knight, Chairman of the N. B. District and General Superintendent of the Missions.

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25. RANKIN-BOWMAN.—1848. By the Rev. Henry Daniel, Mr. John Rankin, to Miss Mary S. Bowman, of this City.

26. MCCOSKERY-MCWILLIAMS.—1846. At St. Malachy's Church, by the Very Rev. James Dunphy, V. G., Mr. John McCoskery, of this City, Merchant, to Miss Eliza, youngest daughter of the late Mr. John McWilliams of Portland.

27 HENDERSON-BOYLE.—1850. By the Rev. John Irvine, Mr. John Henderson, to Mary, eldst daughter of Mr. Boyle, both of the Parish of Hampton, King's County.

28. MCPHELIM-MCGUIRK.—1849. At St. Peter's Chapel, Richibucto, by the Rev. H. McGuirk, Francis McPhelim, Esquire, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Kent, to Rosanna, second daughter of Mr. Michael McGuirk, of Saint John, N. B., and sister of the Rev. H. McGuirk, of Richibucto, N. B.

29. WARLOCK-CAMPBELL.—1848. By the Right Rev. Bishop Dollard, R. C., Mr. Daniel O. L. Warlock, to Miss Mary, daughter of J. G. Campbell, Esq., Barrister at Law.

30. FISHER-VALENTINE.—1847. By the Rev. the Rector, Peter Fisher, Esq., of Fredericton, to Miss Mary Valentine, of St. John.

DEATHS IN NOVEMBER.

1. UPHAM.—1808. In England, after a long illness, the Honorable Joshua Upham, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in New Brunswick, aged 67 years.

2. DUSTAN.—1847. In Portland, Mr. George Dustan, aged 63 years; he was one of the Loyalists who came to this city in 1783.

3. UNDERWOOD.—1848. At Shediac, Mr. John Underwood, at the patriarchal age of 101 years. The deceased was one of those veteran Loyalists who had served during the American Revolution, and was for many years a recipient of Her Majesty's bounty.

4. MINNETTE.—1851. Mr. Robert Garden Minnette, Jr., D. C. L., Surveyor, &c., in the 31st year of his age. His dutiful and affectionate kindness and sincerity endeared him to his parents, relatives and friends, while his undeviating rectitude and integrity insured the respect and esteem of all who knew him.

5. HUTCHINGS.—1856. After an illness of ten days, Mr. Thomas Hutchings, late of Falmouth, England, in the 52nd year of his age. For nearly 40 years he was a consistent member of the Wesleyan Church, and for upwards of 30 years he discharged with great efficiency the duties of Class Leader and Local Preacher. By the integrity and piety which distinguished his character, he gathered around him a numerous circle of friends who deeply sympathize with his sorrowing wife and children in their painful bereavement He died triumphing in the faith of the Gospel, in prospect of a resurrection to eternal Life at the appearance of Jesus Christ.

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6. BOTSFORD.—1861. At Westcock, Sackville, William Hazen Botsford, Esquire, aged 58 years, eldest son of the Hon. William Botsford. The deceased for many years represented the County ot Westmorland in the General Assembly.

7. JARVIS.—1853. Ralph M. Jarvis, Esq, in the 77th year of his age. .

8. CHIPMAN.—1847. At Cornwallis, Mrs. Ann, widow of the William Allan Chipman, Esq., in the 91st year of her age.

9. SEGOGNE.—1844. At Clare, Nova Scotia, the Reverend and truly venerable Abbe Segogne. Mr. Segogne was one of those respectable but persecuted Clergymen, who, during the French revolution, had to take refuge in England for safety; soon after which he visited Nova Scotia, and took charge of the Parish of Clare; and for a long period discharged the religious duties of Priest among the Roman Catholic population both of Clare and the adjoining County of Yarmouth in the most exemplary and conciliatory manner.

10. BRITTENNY.—1846. At Greenwich, (K. C.) after a long and tedious illness, Mr. John Brittenny, in the 95th year of his age. Mr. B. came to this Province with the noble band of Loyalists in 1783, and has lived in Kings County for upwards of sixty-three years.

11. ELSTON.—1847. At Kennebeckasis, Mr. Benjamin Elston, in the 79th year of his age, departing this life in the full assurance of Christ's pardoning grace. He was a native of New Jersey and one of the Loyalists, who came to this Province in the year 1783.

12. JONES.—1855. Mr. Samuel Jones, in the 76th year of his age. Mr, Jones was born at Manawagonish, in the County of St. John, in the year 1777, six years before the landing of the Loyalists, and recollected our present city when it was in a state of nature. From the year 1804 until 1815 he carried the mails from St. John to Fredericton once a week; the roads in the Spring and Fall at that time were in such a state, and horses being of no use, he carried the mails on foot, which nothing but an iron energy and constitution would have enabled him to perform.

13. MCFARLANE.—1849. At Wallace, County of Cumberland, after a short illness, aged 69 years, the Hon. Daniel McFarlane, Custos Rotulorum of that County, and recently a member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia.

14. GILBERT.—1857. At his residence in Dorchester, Robert Keech Gilbert, Esquire, Barrister at Law and M. P. P., aged 48. Mr. Gilbert was elected at two general Elections to represent his native County, Westmorland. His death is deeply and universally regretted by his numerous friends and supporters. He departed this life in peace with entire faith in his Saviour and in full hope of salvation.

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15. SMITH.—1844. At Westmorland, N. B., Dr. Rufus Smith, in the 78th year of his age.

16. MCAVITY.—1859. After a lingering illness, John McAvity, Esq., aged 52 years, greatly regretted by a large circle of relatives and friends.

17. HAMMOND.—1848. At Tobique, the Rev. Lothrop Hammond, aged 83 years, one of the oldest Baptist Ministers in this Province, and one whose Christian character will long be cherished with respect by many of other denominations as well as of his own.

18. GREGORY.—At Kingston, (K. C.) Richard P. Gregory, Esq., in the 96th year of his age. He was one of the Loyalists of 1783, and was much respected by all who knew him, and is deservedly regretted by a large circle of friends.

19. SEELY.—1848. At Indian Town, Sarah, wife of Mr. Alexander McL. Seely, aged 35 years.

20. GRAHAM.—1838. After a few hours illness, Richard, youngest son of Mr. Joseph Graham, Merchant, late of Glasgow.

21. BABINE.—1844. At Eel River, N. S., Madeline, relict of Mr. Joseph Babine, in the 100th year of her age.

22. SMILER.—1859. After a very short illness, Mr. Samue Smiler, of the *Temperance Telegraph*, in the thirty fourth year of his age.

23. CHAMBERLAIN.—1847. After a short and severe illness, Mr. Samuel M. Chamberlain, formerly of Halifax, N. S., much and deservedly regretted.

24. TISDALE.—1857. At his residence in Germain Street, Walker Tisdale, Esq., in the 75th year of his age. Mr. Tisdale was one of the few remaining Loyalists.

25. SWYMMER.—1844. In London, Henry Swymmer, Esq., of St. John, Barrister at Law, and Surrogate Judge of Probates for the City and County of St. John.

26. CHIPMAN.—1851. At his residence in this City, on the morning of Wednesday, the 26th instant, in the 65th year of his age, the Honorable Ward Chipman, late Chief Justice of this Province.

27. PALMER.—1844.—In King's County, Mr. Thomas Palmer, in the 82d year of his age - one of the earliest settlers of the Province.

28. CONNELL. - 1846. At Woodstock, Jeremiah M. Connell, Esquire, in the 47th year of his age. He was a Justice of the Common Pleas for the County of Carleton, and a Representative in the late General Assembly, and was much esteemed as an upright and useful man, and a sincere christian. He was a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

29. HARDING.—1844. This morning, at half past 7 o'clock, with a humble trust in the merits of her Saviour, Maria, wife of Mr. Theodore S. Harding, aged 33 years.

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30. CLARK.—1853. At the advanced age of 93 years, Mr. John Clark. He was one of the first settlers of the City, and for nearly sixty years officiated as clerk in Trinity Church.

PROVINCIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following are a few additions of old and new books relating to the provinces, which are either not noted in the already published "New Brunswick Bibliography," or which are noted in that book and concerning which further information is given. It is hoped that readers of THE MAGAZINE generally will aid as contributors to this department from month to month. In the case of books which relate to New Brunswick, the notes sent should be in the line already mentioned—new books or information about old ones and their authors. In respect to the other Maritime Provinces, of which there is no published bibliography, all information is of value, especially that relating to old and rare works.

In sending notes of books, please follow the style given below. Quote the name of the author as it is given on the title page, adding any other information as to his personality and work. Copy the title page itself, with date, describe binding in brief form, give the number of pages and mention maps or illustrations. To this necessary description may be appended any further facts as to the character of the book and its relation to the Maritime Provinces.

Le Canada-Français, Revue publiée sous la direction d'un Comité de Professeurs de L'Université Laval. Québec. Imprimierie de L. J. Demers & Frère. 1888-91. Four Vols. 8°.

Collection de Documents Inédits, sur l' Acadie.

The Canada Français was a publication of much value, and a set of it is now difficult to obtain. Among the papers of interest to readers in the Maritime Provinces was one on Miscou

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by Dr. N. E. Dionne, of Quebec. The collection of unpublished documents relating to Acadia was issued concurrently with the numbers of the magazine and stitched in at the end of each number, but there is a separate pagination and index, so that the two may be kept distinct from each other when bound. This publication is catalogued in Gagnon's Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne.
W. K. R.

COLONIAL COLONIZATION BROADSIDE.—"Liverpool, 20th, 1771. Ten or twelve Industrious Farmers are wanted to settle upon the Lands belonging to William Owen, Esq., and Co., at New Warrington, on the Island of Campo Bello and Province of Nova Scotia," &c.—one page folio, in fine state, $5.

In a recent catalogue issued by W. J. Campbell of Philadelphia. V. H. P.

COLONIAL COLONIZATION. Translation of the Documents in French upon the back of a Map of Canada, by Guillaume de L' Isle, Geographer to King Louis XIV. Published in 1703. [Edinburgh: Printed by James Walker. *circa* 1837] pp. 10; 8°.

Consists of Documents and attestations bearing upon the Acadian claims of the Alexanders, Lords Stirling. A copy in New York Public Library. V. H. P.

HICKMAN, WILLIAM.

Sketches on the Nipisiguit, a River of New Brunswick. Halifax, John B. Strong. London, Day & Son, 1860. Folio, 15 x 11 inches. Eight colored lithographs; 15 pp. text.

Incorrectly printed in MacFarlane. W. F. G.

HICKMAN, J. G.

The Life of John Newton, a Loyalist of the Memorable Revolution of 1776—His attachment to the mother country—his banishment to Nova Scotia—his eternal hatred to the United States Flag—his subsequent Piratical cruelties, etc. By J. G. Hickman, Barrister at Law. St. John, N. B., Carrelton Briggs & Co., 32 pp., 1846.

An account of the disgusting crimes of three members of this family, told with pompous fulness; of no historical value.
W. F. G.

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POTE, WILLIAM.

The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr., during his captivity in the French and Indian War from May, 1745, to August, 1747. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1896. 375 copies printed. An account of the Journal by John F. Hurst. Historical Introduction by Victor H. Paltsits. Appendices. Illustrations. Map by Chas. Morris 1749.

A work of the greatest value on Acadian history, and a model of scholarly editing and tasteful book-making. W. F.G.

SNELL, MISS M. S.

Essays, Short Stories and Poems, including a sketch of the author's Life. Chatham [Ont.] 1881. 162 pp.; 8°.

The authoress lived at Campobello and the book contains references to her life there; not important. W. F. G.

WILLIAMS, MRS. CATHERINE R.

The | Neutral French; | or, | The Exiles of Nova Scotia. | By Mrs. Williams, | x x x | Two volumes in one. | Second Edition. | Providence: | Published by the Author. | [Copyrighted, 1841.] | 12 mo; pp. 238, 109; illustrated.

There is an edition in which "Second edition" is omitted on the title-page, but it seems to be identical in other respects.

Miss Catherine R. Williams was the granddaughter of Oliver Arnold, who held the post of Attorney-General of Rhode Island, in colonial days. Her father, Alfred Arnold, was a sea-captain. The daughter was born in Providence about 1790, and died there on 11 October, 1872. She was married to a Mr. Williams, a lineal descendant of Roger Williams—but the marriage soon ended in a permanent separation. Thrown upon her own resources, she followed authorship as a profession. Her writings comprehend poetry, biography and fiction. Mrs. Williams was in the Provinces in 1839, and her book, although dealing primarily with the Minas region, has not a little in it concerning New Brunswick. She always considered this romance as her best work. For a sketch of her, consult "Bibliographical Memoirs of three Rhode Island Authors—By Sidney S. Rider." Providence, 1880. (R. I. Historical Tracts, No. 11.) V. H. P.

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THE EARLY NAME OF ROTHESAY.

Some of the summer residents of Rothesay had a discussion, last season, on the early name of that place. The following is from the Supplementary Report of the E. & N. A. Railway Commissioners, dated March 8, 1859, and contained in the Appendix to the Journals of the House of Assembly for 1859:

"With regard to the names given to the Stations, the Commissioners take this occasion to explain that at the outset they found great difficulty in deciding which to adopt of the many names the several localities were known by. For example the site of the first main Station from Saint John was variously known as the 'Nine Mile House,' 'Sheriff Drury's' and 'Scribner's.'

"It was marked as a Way Office in the Post Office Directory as 'Kennebeccasis Bay.'

"The Commissioners applied to the residents in the neighborhood to fix on a name for the future Town or City, but after much cogitation and many meetings no decision could be arrived at.

"The Commissioners were therefore in this instance forced to become name givers, and adopted the Indian name of the magnificent sheet of water in the vicinity, namely, 'Kennebeccasis,' or the Little Kennebec.

"A similar difficulty met them at each of the other stations. The next was known as 'Wetmore's,' 'Gondola Point Road' and 'Lakefield.' The Commissioners adopted the aboriginal name 'Quispamsis' or the Little Lake in the Woods. The next locality was variously known as 'Little River,' 'Hammond River,' 'French Village' and 'Alden's.' As before, the Indian name of the river, 'Nauwigewauk,' was chosen. And so, in each case the Indian names of the rivers or localities was (sic!) adopted, unless in one or two instances, where the names 'Norton,' 'Sussex' and 'Portage,' had become sufficiently established.

"Some pains have been taken to get at the correct

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spelling of the names. The Indian language is not a written one, and therefore the only correct way to spell it is to arrange such a combination of letters as shall as nearly as possible give when pronounced the requisite sound. The pronunciation of the Indian names in each case has been derived from authentic sources."

Putnam's Historical Magazine, of which the advertisement appears in this issue, is a well established publication, dealing with the genealogy and history of New England, and it has therefore an interest for many families in these provinces. Mr. Putnam is a practical genealogist, and his magazine shows him to be a man of good taste in book-making as well. Published by Eben Putnam, Salem, Mass., at $2 a year.

Le Courrier du Livre is the official organ of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and is an excellent publication for every student of Canadian history. It contains papers on topics of general interest, both in French and English, by prominent writers, and has many valuable features. It is published at Quebec, under the direction of Raoul Renault, and is issued monthly. Subscription, $2 a year.

Number 3 of Mr. Hay's Canadian History Leaflets contains a sketch of Gen. Coffin, by Dr. I. Allen Jack; Fort Cumberland, by James Hannay; D'Anville's Expedition, by Harry Piers; Deny's Description of the St. John, by Prof. Ganong; Incidents in the life of Lieut. James Moody, by G. U. Hay, and the Story of the Big Beaver, by Rev. W. O. Raymond. It is needless to say that, with such writers, the subjects are well treated. The leaflets ought to do a great deal of good from an educational standpoint.

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Title page

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The New Brunswick Magazine

VOL I. No. 6.

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ST. JOHN, N. B.

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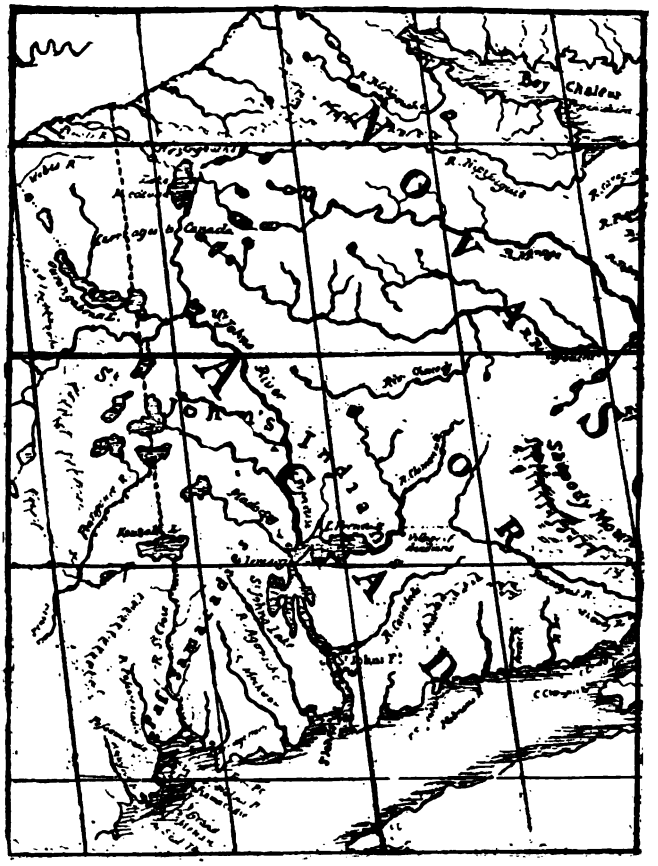
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The New Brunswick Magazine.

VOL. I. DECEMBER, 1898. No. 6

THE ASHBURTON TREATY.

There are probably but few people in New Brunswick, who, knowing anything at all about the boundary disputes terminated by the Ashburton treaty of 1842, would not claim that this province was sadly defrauded by that treaty and through it lost a great and valuable territory belonging to her by right. This statement is passed along from one generation to another, accepted without question and repeated without investigation. Not only is it current in conversation, but it has even been promulgated by high officials in public addresses. But this condemnation of the Ashburton treaty is not confined to New Brunswick alone, for it is equally intense and widespread in the other country affected by it, the state of Maine, which claims that it, and not New Brunswick, was the heavy loser. Naturally, as a New Brunswicker, I formerly thought our own view of the case necessarily the correct one, but an investigation of the whole subject, so far from confirming this opinion, has forced me to the opposite conclusion, namely, that Maine is right and we are wrong, that the Ashburton treaty took from Maine much territory awarded her by the treaty of 1783, and

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so far from robbing us of what was our due, it really gave us territory not awarded us by the treaty.

My own attention was first turned to this subject through studies upon the early maps of New Brunswick. I noticed that the maps of the last century, almost without exception, sustained the American and not the British claims. I accordingly investigated all other evidence and all documents accessible to me bearing upon the subject, with the result stated above. I have given in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1897 (Section II, page 383) a brief discussion of the evidence. It is a pleasure to be able to add that Mr. James Hannay, in various newspaper writings, has expressed independently substantially the same opinion.

The American claim, it will be remembered, was that the due north line from the source of the St. Croix should cross the River St. John above Grand Falls (instead of stopping as it does at the river) and continue to the highlands just south of the St. Lawrence, and that all west of this line was awarded to them by the treaty of 1783. The British claim, which was first introduced in this century, was that the north line should stop at Mars Hill, south of the Aroostook, and thence run west along the Aroostook-Penobscot watershed. The present line, secured by Lord Asburton, roughly splits the difference between the two claims. It does not give us a convenient nor natural boundary, but for that the British Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of 1783 should be held responsible and not Lord Asburton, who saved us from a part, though he could not save us from all, of the consequences of their action. Yet for these Commissioners, too, there is excuse, for events and odds were fearfully against them.

The boundary in part between the United States and British America was defined in the treaty of 1783 as follows:—

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"Art. II. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz.: From the North-west Angle of Nova Scotia, viz., that angle which is formed by a line drawn due North from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the North-Westernmost Head of Connecticut river." (Here is the description of the remaining boundaries of the United States, of no importance to our present subject until the following occurs.) "East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly North to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the river St. Laurence, comprehending all islands," etc. (Murdoch, Nova Scotia III, 24, 25).

Though drawn up in good faith and apparently with unmistakable clearness, this description of boundaries fitted so badly the country it tried to describe that it gave rise to over half a century of international disputes, so bitter as to bring the two nations near to the verge of war, so important as to require successive weighty Commissions for their settlement, and so lasting that their final echoes have hardly yet died away. This entire subject of the evolution of our boundaries has not been adequately treated by any New Brunswick writer, and it yet awaits a thorough and judicial treatment. But so far as our present subject is concerned we have to deal with only one phase of the disputes, that which has to do with the length of the due North line from the source of the St. Croix, and the resultant position of the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia."*

* Two subordinate questions not directly connected with the present subject are yet of sufficient interest and importance to deserve mention here,—namely, the identity of the River St. Croix and the choice for the boundary of the East instead of the West branch of that river. It has been claimed by most American writers that the Magaguadavic should have been made the boundary, on the ground that the river named St. Croix on Mitchell's map (the map used by the Commissioners in their negotiations) was really meant for the Magaguadavic. I have been able to prove that the St. Croix of Mitchell's map is really the present St. Croix and not the Magaguadavic, (in Magazine of American History, XXVI, 261 and XXVII, 72) for the name applied on that map to the lake at its head is the Indian name of Grand Lake of the Chiputnaticook Chain. The position of the mouth of that river is altogether inconclusive, since by a mistake of Mitchell in copying an earlier map of Southack it empties by Letite Passage and not

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The question then now before us is this, what was understood by the Commissioners who framed the Treaty of 1783 to be the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia"? For answer we turn naturally to the best documents and maps of the time. In October, 1763, a royal proclamation fixed as the southern boundary of Quebec, and hence as the northern boundary of Nova Scotia and Maine (then a part of Massachusetts), the highlands separating waters flowing into the River St. Lawrence from those flowing south. In November of the same year a royal commission to a governor of Nova Scotia (then including New Brunswick) defined the limit of that province as a line drawn north from the source of the St. Croix to the southern bounds of Quebec, and other official documents of 1774 and 1783 reaffirmed these bounds.* Naturally these boundaries are given on the maps of the time, and indeed no others appear on all of the large series of maps between 1763 and 1783.† Between 1763 and 1783, then, there was no question as to the meaning of the "Northwestern angle of Nova Scotia"—it was the angle of intersection between a line drawn north from the source of the St.

inside of Passamaquoddy Bay at all (discussed in Transactions Royal Society of Canada, 1897, section II. page 369, 378). It is a satisfaction thus to know that from all points of view, the right river was chosen, though no doubt it will be many a day before the old error on this point will cease to be repeated by non-investigating writers. As to which of the two branches of the St. Croix should have been chosen when they are so nearly equal in volume, here again I think the proper branch, the eastern, was chosen. A claim for the western branch was made by the British on the ground that earlier documents relating to the boundary between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia speak of the north line as starting from the most westerly source of the St. Croix. But the Treaty does not speak of a western branch, and we must accept what the Treaty of 1783 appears to have intended to award. Aside from whether or not the eastern is the main stream (a strong case could be made out that it is) there is the important fact that its more northerly, longer and straighter course better carry out the idea of a northerly running boundary which the Treaty expresses. But more important than this is the further fact that on Mitchell's and most other maps of the time, the easterly is the *only* branch marked, the western being omitted altogether or reduced to insignificant proportions, and hence it is the only branch of which the commissioners framing the treaty could have had any knowledge, and hence *must* have been the one meant by them. That on the maps it is the eastern and not the western branch which is laid down is shown not only by its straight northerly course, but also by the fact already mentioned that the name given on all the maps to the lake at its head is the Indian name of Grand Lake at the head of the Chiputnaticook chain.

* For authorities on this subject, see Winsor's "America." VII, 171, [et seq.]

† One may see examples of such maps in the latest volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1897, section II, 381, 392.

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Croix river, and the line of the highland watershed just south of the St. Lawrence. It is precisely this boundary which Maine has always claimed, and if the treaty of 1783 had simply mentioned this "Northwestern angle of Nova Scotia," and had not attempted to define its position in words, I have no doubt that Maine today would possess her full claim, and that the western boundary line of New Brunswick would continue across the St. John northward to near the St. Lawrence, throwing all the Madawaska and Temiscouata region into Maine. But, happily for us, the treaty attempted to define in words the Northwest angle of Nova Scotia, and described it as "that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands . . . which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean." Now if one takes a modern and correct map, and draws a line due north from the source of the St. Croix to the highlands south of the St. Lawrence, it does not reach highlands separating rivers falling into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, but it reaches highlands separating rivers falling into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into Bay Chaleur. But the Commissioners in 1783 had not correct modern maps before them, but only the very imperfect ones of their time, a time far preceding any surveys of any kind in the region of these highlands. But what maps did the Commissioners have before them in their negotiations? Happily we have most satisfactory information upon this point, for commissioners from both parties later agreed that while other maps were from time to time consulted, the one actually used in the negotiations was that of John Mitchell of 1755. This map has often been reproduced and a copy of it may be seen in the Transactions of the Royal

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Society of Canada, recently issued, (III, section II, page 378). Now the watershed intersected by the line drawn north from the source of the St. Croix on that map does separate rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence from those flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, and this is not only true on Mitchell's map, but also on most others of that time. Of course the maps were wrong in this, but nobody then knew it, and hence the commissioners gave a perfectly correct description of the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia" as it would appear if drawn out on Mitchell's map and in the only way in which it could be known to them. In the face of these facts I cannot see any escape from the truth and justice of the Maine claim that the commissioners meant to make the boundary line between Maine and Nova Scotia run north to the highlands just south of the St. Lawrence.

There is yet other evidence of the right of the American claim. Not only did England never dispute it until well into this century, and perhaps then, (as has been suggested) only because the war of 1812 showed how the communication between eastern and western British America would be cut off if the American claim were admitted, but documents are extant showing that the American claim was recognized and admitted as a matter of course by at least two of the ablest lawyers and most devoted loyalists in New Brunswick's early history. One of these was Ward Chipman, the elder, whose part in the foundation of New Brunswick and services in connection with the settlement of the boundaries are well known. In several of his letters in 1796-99 to the authorities in England (of which his own manuscript copies are now in my possession) he refers to the north line as crossing the St. John and cutting off communication with Canada, and to the need there will be for a future negotia-

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tion to secure an alteration of that north line; and in no case does he hint at the least doubt that the treaty awarded that north line as the boundary. In the following passage, from a letter of Oct. 19th, 1796, addressed to William Knox (formerly undersecretary of state for America), though expressing doubt as to the intention of the framers of the treaty, he fully admits the legal justice of the American claim:

"With regard to the principal question it is to be lamented that by the most favorable decision we can obtain, that it, a boundary line running due North to the Highlands from the source of the Western Branch of the Scoudiac River, our communication with Canada by the River St. John will be interrupted, as that line will probably strike the River St. John upward of 50 Miles on this side of the grand portage somewhere near a very valuable settlement called the Madawaska which is a circumstance not generally known, and some future negotiation will probably become necessary to preserve that communication unbroken. Tho the line will unfortunately run in this manner, it cannot be supposed to have been intended when the Treaty of Peace was formed, either on the part of the United States to claim or on ours to yield a boundary which should in fact cut through the provinces it was intended to limit. But the decision of the present question agreeable to His Majesty's Claim will render the tract of country in such case to be negotiated for of much less value and importance and probably secure the acquisition of it upon much easier terms."

In a letter of December 1, 1798 to Mr. Knox he says: "If a negotiation is necessary for an alteration of the north line as now established in order to preserve our communication with Canada," and here also he expresses no doubt as to the validity of the American claim.

Again in a letter written by Col. Edward Winslow at the close of 1798 or beginning of 1799 (for a copy of which I am indebted to Rev. W. O. Raymond) occurs the following:—

"My last two summers have been spent in the American States in the execution of a very arduous and laborious duty as Secretary to the Commissioners appointed under the fifth article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, etc. to determine the eastern boundary line. The business closed in October last and under all the existing circumstances the decision may be considered as *favourable* to great Britain. Had the Americans established their claim to the Magaguadavic, the River St. John would have been

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intersected within a few miles of Fredericton, the whole of St. Andrews and other valuable settlements, together with two military posts of some importance would have been embraced within their limits. As it is we lose not a single British settlement. A few miserable frenchmen at Madawaska on the route to Canada fall within their territory. I presume that some future negotiation will remove even this difficulty and give us a free communication with Canada."

This statement of a leading Loyalist, lawyer and Secretary of a Boundary Commission, is indeed strong for the American claim.

There are also documents in existence which show that in 1787 Lord Dorchester was aware of the necessity for carrying the Quebec-New Brunswick boundary far to the south, even to Grand Falls, in order to provide a reason for stopping the due North line as far South as possible.

It was Joseph Bouchette in his "Topographical Description of Lower Canada," 1815, who first definitely formulated the British claim which was adduced to offset that of the Americans. In brief, it was pointed out that the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia" as defined by the Treaty does not exist, which is true, and this point was emphasized throughout the discussion to the total neglect of the fact that the "Northwest angle of Nova Scotia" did have in men's minds in 1783 a definite meaning independently of the precise details of the topography of the country it covered, and a meaning, too, which could very readily have been applied to the actual topography had all so willed. The Highlands were held to begin at Mars Hill, south of the Aroostook, and to run westerly between that River and the Penobscot headwaters. The two parties stood stoutly for their own claims, submitted them to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands, refused to accept his decision, came nearly to war in the Aroostook valley, and settled the matter by splitting the difference in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842.

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There remains one important point yet to be noticed,—why did the British Commissioners in 1783 consent to a boundary which thrust Maine as a great wedge far North into British America, cutting off communication between its eastern and western parts? The answer seems to be plain. Massachusetts had become an independent state, Nova Scotia remained a loyal province. It was obvious that the imternational boundary must separate these two. But the extent of each ot them was perfectly well known at that time to everybody, and it was universally understood that the boundary between them was a north line from the source of the St. Croix to the highlands just south of the St. Lawrence, and thus this line became the natural international boundary. We can imagine with what fine scorn the American Commissioners, representing the victorious states, would have received a proposition to cede a part of the free state of Massachusetts to Great Britain in order that it might be added to Nova Scotia to improve the communication between that province and Canada. Probably it never occurred to the British Commissioners to make so preposterous a proposition.

W. F. GANONG.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH.

The people of New Brunswick have good reason to be proud of the fact that, at a time when its population was less than one-sixth what it is at present, this province was able to raise a full regiment of infantry for the defence of the country, and that this corps was of such excellent quality that it was taken into the British service as the 104th Regiment of the line, and distinguished itself in several engagements in the war with the United States, which began in the year 1812. They have less reason to be satisfied with the reflection

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that soon after the close of the war this regiment was disbanded; and that in after years the old regimental number was appropriated by an organization which had no connection whatever with this province, but was originally raised in India. That transaction and the transformation of the 100th Regiment raised in Canada, into a battalion of an Irish Regiment are significant proofs that the Colonial loyalty until recently has been but little regarded in the realm of British officialism, and that the doctrine of the London Times that the British North American colonies should be got rid of as soon as possible had a higher sanction than the advocacy of any single newspaper could give it.

The 104th Regiment was the natural successor, if not the lineal descendant of the King's New Brunswick Regiment, the story of which has been so fully told by Mr. Jonas Howe. This regiment was raised in 1793, when war broke out between Great Britain and France, and it was disbanded in 1802 when the short lived peace of Ameins was made, the British government of that day being under the delusion that their difficulties with Bonaparte were at an end. It was not then realized that these difficulties were only beginning and that in 1802 the Corsican usurper had his greatest battles to win and his most wonderful triumphs to record, for Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram and a dozen other great victories all came after the peace of Ameins. All that time our mother country had to fight for her existence, and another complication was added to her troubles by the hostile attitude of the United States, then full of ambition to conquer Canada and drive the British flag from this continent.

The war with France was renewed in 1803, and it immediately became apparent that the disbanding of the King's New Brunswick Regiment was an act of extreme folly. The only thing that remained was to

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raise another regiment in its place and the New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry was the outcome. This was a much larger organization than its predecessor, for it numbered twelve companies, instead of six, and its strength was upwards of 1000 men. In 1805 the names of its officers were as follows :—

Colonel, Martin Hunter; Lt.-Col., George Johnston; Major, Charles McCarty.

Captains, J. T. Fitzgerald, Thomas Hunter, T. Christian, H. W. Hailes, Richard Leonard, Robert Moodie, G. V. Gerau, A. Sutherland, Dugald Campbell.

Lieutenants, A. G. Armstrong, W. B. Phair, D. Miller, J. G. Blake, Bennett Wallop. William Bradley, C. McDonald, L. Basserer, George Shore, E. Fennell, C. D. Rankine, William Proctor.

Ensigns, Edward Holland, J. H. Roche, George Jobling, A. Drysdale, John Carmichael, Andrew Rainsford, H. Lodge, John Jenkins.

H. Carmichael, Paymaster; James Hinckes Quartermaster E. Holland, Adjutant; Fred Thomson, Surgeon; Thomas Emerson, Assistant Surgeon.

A reference to the list of officers of the King's New Brunswick Regiment shows that only four persons who were officers of the latter corps became officers of the New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry. These were Captain Dugald Campbell, who had formerly belonged to the 42nd Regiment, William Barry Phair, who had been an ensign in the King's New Brunswick Regiment, W. B. Bradley, who had been a lieutenant in the same regiment, and Thomas Emerson, assistant surgeon. The name John Jenkins occurs in both lists, but they can hardly have been the same person, for John Jenkins of the King's New Brunswick Regiment had been an officer in the New Jersey Volunteers in the Revolutionary War, and therefore would be too old a man to become an ensign in the New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry in 1805. The John Jenkins of the latter corps may have been his son.

The New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry was stationed in this province from the time of its formation until February, 1813, after the outbreak of

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the war with the United States. The only exception to this statement is that, in June, 1808, Captain Shore, with two companies of the regiment, was sent to garrison Sydney, C. B. The headquarters of the regiment had been at Fredericton and most of the companies were stationed there, but in 1809 the 101st Regiment was removed from St. John to the West Indies, and part of the New Brunswick Regiment came here to take its place. During that summer the troops were employed in making a road from St. John to Fredericton. In February 1811, in view of the prospect of a war with the United States, the regiment was gazetted as His Majesty's 104th Regiment, the first Colonial regiment of the line. This was an important step in the history of the corps, and was justly regarded as a highly honorable distinction.

The war with the United States broke out in June, 1812, and the need of reinforcements in Canada became urgent. New Brunswick also had to be defended, however, and it was not until February, 1813, that the 104th could be spared. Its place was taken by a battalion of the 8th Regiment, the other battalion of which was then serving in Upper Canada. The officers of the 104th Regiment at the time they set out on their famous winter march to Quebec, were as follows :—

Colonel, Martin Hunter; Lieut.-General; Lieut.-Col., Alexander Halkett.

Majors, William Drummond, Robert Moodie.

Captains, Thomas Hunter, Staff, Richard Leonard, Staff, A. G. Armstrong, Peter Dinnis, William E. Bradley, R. A. Loring, G. V. Gerau, John Maule, Major, George Shore, William Proctor, Edward Holland.

Lieutenants, George Jobling, John Jenkins, Adjt., Frederick Shaffalisky, James De Lancey, John Carmichael, Thomas Leonard, Samuel Rigby, Alexander Campbell, A. W Playfair, J. Le Coutear, R. J. Ireland, Henry Long, Andrew Rainsford, Charles Rainsford, John McKinnon, William B. Phair, L. Basserer, C. D. Rankine, T. B. Sutherland, H. N. Moorsom, George Croad, A. C. MacDonald, Frederick Moore, James Grey.

Ensigns, E. W. Solomon, A. Graves, James A. McLauchlin, William Martin, —— —— Considine, James Miller, Charles Job-

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ling, James Coyne, James Coates.

H H. Carmichael, Paymaster; William McDonald, Quartermaster; John Jenkins, Adjutant; William D. Thomas, Surgeon. Thomas Emerson, William Woodforde, Asst. Surgeons.

These officers were not all natives of this province, nor is it to be presumed that the whole of the 1,000 men who formed the regiment were born in New Brunswick. Lt. Governor Thomas Carleton had returned to England before the 104th Regiment was raised, and the functions which should have been performed by him were delegated to successive presidents, the Hon. Edward Winslow, General Martin Hunter, Lt. Col. G. Johnston, General W. Balfour, General G. S. Smyth, General Sir T. Saumerez and Lt. Col. H. W. Hailes. The latter, who was one of the captains in the regiment in 1805, was an Englishman, and a great many of the other officers had served in British regiments. It was natural that military men who were acting as governors of the province should select for officers a considerable proportion of experienced soldiers, rather than give all the commissions to natives of the province who were without experience. The proportion of native officers and soldiers was, however, large enough to justify the pride which the people of this province have always felt in the 104th Regiment.

The 104th Regiment was ordered to Quebec in the early part of 1813, and took its departure on the 16th of February. The day before it left Fredericton Captain Agnew, who had been an officer in the Queen's Rangers in the Revolutionary war, and was then a member for York in the House of Assembly, moved the following resolution in that body:

Resolved, That the House of Assembly of New Brunswick cannot view the departure of the 104th Regiment from this province, without feeling every solicitude for a corps raised in this country, and destined they trust long to continue its pride and ornament. The

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House have observed with peculiar pleasure that the merit of the officers and men of this regiment has been such as to have induced his majesty to confer upon it a high mark of his favor and approbation in numbering it with the line; and the House take this occasion to express the high sense they have of the propriety of conduct observed by this regiment during its continuance in this province.

It might have been supposed that the above resolution would have been carried unanimously at such a time, and considering all the circumstances, but such was not the case. It was only passed by a majority of one vote, nine members giving it their support and eight opposing it. Among the latter were three members for St. John, Messrs. Humbert, Ward and Johnston. The other opponents of the resolution were Messrs. Easterbrooks and Chapman of Westmorland, Peters of Queens, Fraser of York, and Street of Sunbury. The Journals of the House simply record the fact, but of course give no explanation of the reasons which influenced the dissenting eight. The opposition to the resolution seems the more remarkable from the fact that in the following year, when the 8th Regiment and a body of British seamen went to Quebec by the same route that had been taken by the 104th, the House of Assembly unanimously voted three hundred pounds to assist them on their way and increase the comfort of their journey. The House of Assembly of that day thus stands in the position of appearing to be more friendly to the 8th Regiment and the sailors of the Royal Navy than to a corp composed mainly of natives of the province which was going forth to do battle for the cause of king and country. It is to be regretted that this division stands on the Journals of the house as a testimony to future ages that party spirit was more powerful than patriotism in this province in the year 1813.

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The march of the 104th Regiment from St. John and Fredericton to Quebec was an arduous undertaking, considering the season of the year and the distance to be travelled, a large portion of the journey being through the wilderness. The distance from Fredericton to Quebec was about 360 miles or about 24 days' march at the usual rate of 15 miles a day. The regiment reached Quebec on the 17th of March in good condition, and early in the spring it was sent to Upper Canada where it was speedily employed in the arduous work of the campaign of that year. Although the lieutenant colonel of the regiment was Alexander Halkett, it was, during all the operations of the war, under the command of the senior major, William Drummond, a brother of Lieut. General Sir Gordon Drummond who commanded the British army at Lundy's Lane.

The first operation in which the 104th was engaged after its arrival in UpperCanada was the attack on Sackett's Harbor, which was the principal depot of the United States army and navy on Lake Ontario. The attempt on this important place was made on the 27th May, 1813, and the troops which took part in it were the Grenadier company of the 100th Regiment, a section of the Royal Scots (1st Regiment), two companies of the 8th, four companies of the 104th, one company of the Glengarry Light Infantry, two companies of the Canadian Voltigeurs, a small detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and two 6-pounder field pieces and their gunners, numbering altogether about 750 rank and file. A landing was effected with but little loss, but the attempt to carry the fort and barracks failed owing to the faint heartedness of the British commander, Sir George Prevost, who ordered a retreat at a time when a little perseverance would have won the position. Major Drummond, at this juncture, said

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to Sir George, "Allow me a few minutes, sir, and I will put you in possession of the place." To this appeal Sir George replied "Obey your orders, sir, and learn the first duty of a soldier." The loss suffered in returning to the boats was much heavier than it had been during the advance, so that the repulse was more costly than a victory would have been. The British loss was 50 men killed and 211 wounded, or 261 in all, a heavy percentage out of a force of 750 men. The loss of the 104th was very large. Although the four companies engaged probably did not exceed in strength 300 men, the loss of the regiment was returned as 22 killed and 69 wounded, a total of 91. Seven officers were wounded, Majors Drummond and Moodie, Captains Leonard and Shore, and Lieutenants Rainsford, Moore and de Lancey. This was a very good beginning for a young regiment which had never before been in action.

After the affair at Sackett's Harbor the 104th Regiment marched from Kingston to join General Vincent's command on the Niagara frontier. They reached their destination immediately after the American defeat at Stoney Creek and were placed in the van of the army which was following the retreating enemy. Detachments were pushed forward to occupy the cross roads at Ten Mile Creek and at the Beaver Dam, the latter place being occupied by a subaltern and 30 men of the 104th. As this little force was somewhat isolated, the Americans formed a design to capture it, and on the 23rd of June Lieut.-Colonel Bœrstler with a detachment of infantry, cavalry and artillery, numbering 673 officers and men, left Fort St. George for that purpose. The fate of this detachment is the most extraordinary episode of the war, for it was captured almost without firing a shot by a clever ruse of Lieutenant Fitzgibbon of the 49th Regiment, who summond Bœrstler to surrender and made him believe he was surrounded by

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enemies, when in reality he was in no danger whatever. The American commander and 542 of his men became prisoners of war.

During the summer of 1813 the 104th Regiment remained on the Niagara frontier, suffering greatly from sickness, fever and argue being very prevalent that year. It is thus mainly, rather than by loss of life in battle, that regiments and armies are reduced in strength. Later in the year the regiment took part in the operations by which General Wilkinson's attempt on Montreal was defeated, but it was not actually engaged. It missed the glorious victory at Chrystler's farm which put an end to the hopes of the Americans in that quarter.

The flank companies of the 104th Regiment, numbering about 150 men, under Captains Leonard and Shore, took part in the battle of Lundy's Lane. Being on the extreme right, which was but feebly attacked by the enemy, their losses were slight, being one man killed and five wounded. Lieut. Col. Drummond of the 104th was very active in the battle, and Lieut. Moorsom of the regiment, who was on the staff, was killed. The American army fled to Fort Erie and was followed by General Drummond's force, of which the flank companies of the 104th formed a part. Fort Erie was invested by the British and the American army was cooped up within its walls. To facilitate the attack on Fort Erie it was deemed necessary to capture or destroy the American batteries at Black Rock, on the opposite side of the Niagara River. The flank companies of the 104th were a part of the force detailed for this operation, but it failed, mainly because the enemy had received warning of it and had intrenched themselves in a position which could not be carried. A few men of the regiment were killed and wounded in this affair.

The same companies of the 104th were in the

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assault on Fort Erie which took place on the 13th August, 1814, their strength being at that time reduced to about 80 men. They formed a part of the centre column under the command of Lieut. Colonel Drummond. This column, after desperate fighting, took possession of the salient bastion of the Douglas Battery, but were nearly all destroyed by an explosion which took place within it. The bastion had been mined, and when General Gaines saw that it was in the possession of the British he fired the train and blew it up. This was no doubt a legitimate act of warfare, but this fact did not justify him in falsifying the record and stating in his official despatch that the British were driven out of the bastion at the point ot the bayonet. The British in the bastion were blown up and most of them killed by the explosion. Lieut.-Colonel Drummond of the 104th had been killed before the explosion, while gallantly fighting at the head of his men. Of the 80 men belonging to the flank companies of the regiment who went into action, 53 were killed or wounded. Captain Leonard was wounded, and Lieutenant McLaughlan was wounded severely. The British loss in the assault on Fort Erie was 905, a larger number than were killed and wounded in the battle of Lundy's Lane.

The 104th Regiment lost heavily from disease and other incidents of warfare from the time it took the field, and it had no recruiting ground by means of which its losses could be made good. As soon as it took its departure from New Brunswick, another corps, the New Brunswick Fencibles, was organized by General Coffin, and the recruits from this province which ought to have gone to the 104th Regiment were taken into the new organization. Thus the best method of replenishing the wasted ranks of the 104th became a matter of serious concern, and Earl Bathurst, the

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secretary of the Colonial department, proposed that the negro slaves of Virginia who had fled to the British ships to obtain their freedom should be permitted to enlist in the New Brunswick Regiment. This suggestion does not appear to have been carried out.

The military services of the 104th Regiment ended with the close of the campaign of 1814, for the war was ended nearly in 1815. The regiment was then sent to Quebec where it remained a year. It afterwards did garrison duty at Montreal until the 24th of May, 1817, when it was disbanded. Most of the soldiers received grants of land and became settlers in Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Those who were going to the two latter provinces were sent in vessels to Halifax and St. John, receiving two months' pay on their arrival. General Drummond had been very anxious that the 104th Regiment, and two other provincial corps, the Glengarry Regiment and the Canadian Fencibles, should be retained in the British army, but his advice was not heeded, and so these veterans of the war who were looked upon with pride by their fellow countrymen were scattered and their services lost to their country. Even the memory of their achievements seems to have soon faded away, for no attempt was made to obtain from the survivors of the 104th a narrative of their services in two campaigns and now the story of their battles can only be gathered from the official despatches, which contain but the barest outline of the facts recorded.

JAMES HANNAY.

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AT PORTLAND POINT.

Sixth Paper.

The fact that William Hazen did not take up his residence at St. John until the year 1775, more than ten years after the formation of the co-partnership under which James Simonds and James White entered upon their business and settled themselves at Portland Point, has rendered it difficult hitherto to connect him with the story of the first English settlement at St. John. Mr. Hazen, nevertheless, was a very important member of the company, and next to James Simonds its prime organizer, and had it not been for his financial aid it is doubtful if the business could have been continued. To him and Leonard Jarvis, his partner at Newburyport, were sent the various products received at St. John—furs and peltries from the Indians, lumber and country produce from the white inhabitants, fish of all kinds, lime from the kilns about Fort Howe, coal from the Grand Lake region, small vessels built at Portland Point, etc. To dispose of all these articles to advantage was in itself no easy task. Mr. Hazen had also to procure and forward such goods as were required for the settlers on the river St. John, and for the Indian trade, to supply machinery for the mills, materials for building houses and stores, rigging for schooners, farming implements, cattle, sheep, and horses. Nobody can read the correspondence that passed between Newburyport and St. John at this period or glance at the old invoices without being surprised at the great variety of articles he was obliged to provide sometimes at short notice. He had also to procure from time to time a variety of hands required at St.

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John—coopers, carpenters, fishermen, farmers, lime-burners, shipbuilders, millmen, teamsters and laborers.

Leonard Jarvis became a co-partner with William Hazen in the autumn of the year 1764, and he may be considered to have replaced Samuel Blodget in the company, as on the retirement of Mr. Blodget, a little later, his share was taken by Hazen and Jarvis, they paying him the sum of £1,800 on account of the supplies he had advanced. Leonard Jarvis seems never to have been at St. John while he was a member of the company,* but William Hazen visited Portland Point frequently, more especially after the formation of the second business partnership in April 1767. In April 1771, he informed Mr. Simonds that he should soon altogether discontinue business at Newburyport having determined to settle his lands in Nova Scotia which if unimproved would be liable to forfeiture; he therefore proposed to build a dwelling house for his family near Mr. Simonds' residence at Portland Point. The prospect of such an addition to their limited society doubtless was extremely pleasing to the families of Mr. Simonds and Mr. White.

In a letter dated February 18, 1771, James Simonds writes, "We shall cut Mr. Hazen's Frame in some place near the water where it may be rafted at any time." The house was erected in July following. It was built at Mr. Hazen's expense mostly by the laborers and with materials belonging to the company. Shortly after its completion it was destroyed by fire and Mr. Hazen's removal from Newburyport delayed in consequence. A new house was begun the next year which like the former was built by the company's carpenters and laborers and the expense borne by Mr. Hazen.

*Leonard Jarvis was at St. John, probably for the first time, in August, 1790, in connection with the suit in Chancery, Hazen and Jarvis versus Simonds.

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There is a very suggestive entry in one of the old account books, dated November 17, 1773, in which William Hazen is charged 25 shillings for "4 gallons West India rum, 3 lbs. sugar, 3 quarts New England rum, Dinner, &c., &c.," and the memo is appended: "for Raising his House." The house was finished in 1774. It was by far the best and most substantial dwelling as yet erected at Portland Point, indeed in early times it used to be regarded as quite a mansion. The day of "the raising" was doubtless a gala day and we may be sure every man of the little community was there to take his part in the work and share in the refreshments provided.

The old Hazen house so erected on the 17th November, 1773, is still standing at the corner of Simonds and Brook streets, having withstood the ravages of time and escaped the numerous conflagrations that have occurred in the vicinity. The house has, however, been largely remodelled by the present owner Mr. John Stewart. The foundation is all new except the stone wall on Brook street which is part of the original wall. The roof formerly pitched four ways running up to a peak, this has been replaced by a flat roof. Some of the old studs, which were cut out where new windows have been put in, were found to be merely round sticks flattened on two sides with an axe, and the boards were roughly sawn. The sheathing of the house has all been renewed, and the ell that used to extend up Simonds street has been removed. The lower flat is now used as a grocery, the upper as a Presbyterian Mission Hall and Sunday School room in connection with St. David's Church. In olden times and for many years Mr. Hazen's garden and grounds extended to the water. Mr. Hazen seems to have personally superintended the construction of his house and as soon as it was ready for occupancy began once

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more to prepare for the removal of his family to St. John.

Leonard Jarvis had in the meanwhile quitted the company and gone into business on his own acccount at Dartmouth, near Rhode Island, one hundred miles from Newburyport. This necessitated a new business arrangement and in May, 1773, a verbal agreement was made between Hazen, Simonds and White to carry on the fishery and trade in their own names in the proportions of one half part on account of Hazen, one third part on account of Simonds and one sixth part on account of White, and they continued to do business at St. John under the name of Hazen, Simonds and White until the latter part of the year 1777 when the events of the Revolution put a stop to all business. As Leonard Jarvis never visited St. John until some years after this time we may regard his connection with the company merely as incidental to his co-partnership with William Hazen. After the discontinuance of the partnership between Hazen and Jarvis, the supplies needed at St. John were furnished by one Samuel Gardiner Jarvis, a leading merchant of Boston.

There can be little doubt that throughout the continuance of the company's operations at St. John, William Hazen was its chief financial strength and that the large outlay required was a source of some embarrassment to him. Quite as much difficulty was experienced in collecting debts in olden times as in days more modern; on this head we have the authority of James Simonds who in a letter to his son Richard, says:—

"At the dissolution of my old partnership concern with Hazen and Jarvis, their debts in this and other countries amounted to a large sum, but it never was in the power of the partners to collect one half of it, and the loss was upwards of 50 percent, besides the immense trouble of recovering the remaining part—and on the discontinuance of business on my own account I had no better success. In the last instance only, my loss of debts amounted to upwards of £2,000."

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The very large outlay required and the magnitude of the debts outstanding, as just stated, taxed severely the resources of William Hazen, who claimed that at the time the business was terminated by the events of the Revolutionary war, the company were in arrears to him for supplies in an amount equivalent to $16,600.*

While we cannot suppose the general business at St. John to have been altogether unremunerative, it would seem that Mr. Hazen expected to derive more substantial benefits from the lands he had acquired, and in this, as the event proved, his judgment was not at fault. Scarcely, however, had he begun his preparations for removal to St. John when the rumblings of a coming storm were heard, and ere long Old England and New England were arrayed in bitter conflict. The port of Boston was closed in 1774, and a vessel owned by the company with a large and valuable cargo was obliged to return to St. John without being allowed to enter. This almost put a stop to their business.

William Hazen is said to have left New England with his family, June 17, 1775, the very day on which was fought the battle of Bunker Hill. His arrival at St. John a few days later is very evident from the nature of the items that begin to appear in the old day book kept by James White. The Hazen family evidently proved good customers of the store at Portland Point. The first item charged to the account of the household is one of 67 lbs. of moose meat at 1d. per lb.† Moose meat was a much greater rarity to the family on their arrival than it afterwards became. It was at the time one of the staple articles of food in the country and almost any settler who desired fresh meat

*Mr. Hazen stated in his evidence in the Chancery suit in 1795, that at the time the second business contract was signed in April, 1767, there was a balance due by the company to Hazen and Jarvis of £3,135. 10. 8 New England currency (equal to £2,612. 18. 11 New Brunswick currency), and that in April, 1778, this sum had increased to £4,149. 16. 1½ New Brunswick currency.

†It may be of interest to mention that moose meat was just half the value of beef at this time, the latter being quoted at 2d. per lb.

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could obtain it at short notice by loading up his old musket and going to the woods. The purchase of 67 lbs. of moose meat at midsummer indicates that Mr. Hazen had to provide for a good sized family, and we learn from an enumeration of the settlers made this very year that his household included 4 men, 3 women, 3 boys and 2 girls, twelve persons in all. Probably his nephew, John Hazen, who afterwards settled at Oromocto, was one of the family.

William Hazen was decidedly unfortunate in regard to the first buildings he erected at St. John. Shortly after his arrival he built a barn near his house, and a few years later it shared the fate of his first dwelling house, only in this instance the fire was not accidental.

Rev. James Sayre,* under date November 25, 1784, wrote to James White from Fairfield, Connecticut: —

"It gave us great concern to be informed that any person about you could be so wicked as to accomplish the shocking deed attempted before we left the country; I mean the burning of Mr. Hazen's barn. Besides the great loss he must have sustained it is justly to be feared it must have occasioned great terror and trouble to both your families. I should be glad to be informed that Mrs. White in particular did not suffer materially in her health (being an invalid) by the flagitious deed."

So much as regards the circumstances attending Mr. Hazen's removal from Newburyport to Portland Point. A few words may now be said respecting the ancestry of the Hazen family.

In the New England Historical and Genealogical Register of April, 1879, Mr. Allen Hazen of New Haven, Conn., says; "The origin of the family beyond

*Rev. James Sayre was a brother of Rev. John Sayre, who settled at Maugerville. In the Revolutionary war he was a chaplain in the New Jersey Volunteers, a well known Loyalist corps. He came to St. John at the peace in 1783 and drew a lot near York Point, but afterwards returned to Connecticut. His family lived on terms of friendly intercourse with James White's family and there are several pleasant allusions in Mr. Sayre's letter to their former intimate associations. He says, "We feel ourselves much indebted to your house for the frequent instances of kindness to us when in your neighborhood and wish to have it in our power to testify it more strongly than in words."

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the sea has not been traced."* The Hazens of New Brunswick belong to the eighth and ninth generations of the family in America.

(1) Edward Hazen, the immigrant ancestor, was a resident of Rowley, Massachusetts, as early as the year 1649. By his wife Hannah Grant, he had a family of four sons and seven daughters. His youngest son, Richard, born August 6, 1669, inherited the large estate of his step-father George Browne of Haverhill.

(2) Richard Hazen married Mary Peabody daughter, of Captain John Peabody,† and had a family of five sons and six daughters, one of the latter, Sarah, was the mother of James Simonds. The third son, Moses Hazen, was the ancestor of our New Brunswick Hazens.

(3) Moses Hazen married May 17, 1701, Abigail White (the aunt of James White who came to St. John); their oldest son, Captain John Hazen, distinguished himself in the Crown Point expedition of 1757, and on other occasions during the French war.‡ He married November 30, 1752, Anne Swett of Haverhill, and their only son, John, born November 29, 1755, came with his uncle William to St. John and afterwards took up his residence in Burton, Sunbury County, where he married September 2, 1787, Priscilla, daughter of Dr. William McKinstry, by whom he had twelve children. Among their descendants the best known is J. Douglas Hazen, ex-mayor of Fredericton and lately member in the Dominion parliament for the city and county of St. John. Captain Moses Hazen, second son of the elder Moses Hazen, has been frequently mentioned in this

*Possibly the Hazens may have come to America from the vicinity of Newcastle on Tyne, where the name has been located early in the last century.

†Capt. John Peabody's father, Lieut. Francis Peabody, was the first of that family to come to America; from him are descended Capt. Francis Peabody, the father of the Maugerville colony, and also George Peabody, the great London banker and philanthropist.

‡Both James Simonds and James White had commissions in the provincial forces of Massachusetts and were with Captain John Hazen, their cousin, in this campaign.

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series of papers. He served with distinction during the French war and was with Wolfe at the taking of Quebec where he was severely wounded. He sided against the mother country in the Revolution, raised a regiment called "Hazen's own," and was a Brigadier General at the close of the war.

(4) William Hazen, third son of Moses Hazen, was the co-partner of Simonds and White at St. John. He was born in Haverhill, July 17, 1738, and died at St. John, March 23, 1814. He married July 14, 1764, Sarah Le Baron, of Plymouth. They had sixteen children; of these *Elisabeth* married the elder Ward Chipman, Judge of the Supreme Court and administrator of the government of New Brunswick at his death in 1824; *William* was father of Hon. Robert L. Hazen, recorder of St. John, a leader in our provincial politics and a Canadian senator; *Robert* was the father of Robert F. Hazen, mayor of St. John in 1837;* *Sarah Lowell* married first Thomas Murray (grandfather of Miss Frances Murray of St. John) and second Judge William Botsford and their children were Senator Botsford, George Botsford of Fredericton, and LeBaron Botsford of St. John; *Charlotte* married General Sir John Fitzgerald; *Frances Amelia* married Colonel Charles Drury of the British army and the late Ward Chipman Drury of St. John was one of their sons.

Connected with the decease of several prominent members and relatives of the Hazen family there are some rather remarkable coincidences as to dates. The eldest daughter of William Hazen, widow of the elder Ward Chipman, died at the Chipman house May 18, 1852, the 69th anniversary of the landing of the

*Robert F. Hazen had the honor, as mayor of St. John, of presiding on the occasion of the proclamation of Queen Victoria, Aug. 8, 1837. The demise of William IV occurred on June 19th, but the news was seven weeks in reaching New Brunswick. The same day a tragic accident happened at the falls, causing the loss of seven lives and the wounding of seven persons. This was caused by the falling of the bridge then being erected by the St. John Bridge Company, of which Robert F. Hazen was one of the shareholders.

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Loyalists; her son, the younger Ward Chipman, died November 26, 1851, the 67th anniversary of the organization of the Supreme Court of Judicature of New Brunswick; Mrs. Chipman, widow of the younger Ward Chipman, died July 4, 1876, the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence; William Hazen, son of the late William Hazen and grandson of Robert F. Hazen, died June 17th, 1885, the anniversary of the day his great-great-grandfather, William, left his home in the old colonies for St. John, one hundred and ten years before.

The removal of William Hazen to Portland Point in June, 1775, did not seem at the first to be a fortunate event either for himself or his family. For the latter the change from comfortable surroundings, good society, educational and religious advantages, to a scene of comparative isolation with all its attendant privations was in itself no light matter. But the situation was shortly to be aggravated by the tribulations all the settlers were to experience in consequence of the outbreak of the American Revolution. Of this we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter.

At the time of the arrival of Mr. Hazen and his family, the English speaking people at the mouth of the river did not exceed one hundred and fifty souls. There is preserved among the archives at Halifax a "Return of the state of the settlement at the mouth of the River St. John on the first day of August, 1775," which gives some information on this head.* The enumeration was made by James Simonds. It does not give the names of all the adult males. In the case, for example, of the households of Messrs. Simonds, White and Hazen, twelve male adults are returned; evidently some of them were employees of the company

*For a copy of this return I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Isaiah W. Wilson, the local historian of Digby County, Nova Scotia.—W. O. RAYMOND.

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who lived with their masters. Their names are not specified, but James White's old day book shows the following to have been living at Portland Point at this time in addition to those whose names appear in Mr. Simonds' return, viz: Stephen Peabody, John Hazen, Samuel Beverley, Jonathan Clough, Jacob Johnson, Edmund Black, Levi Ring, Reuben Harbut and Michael Kelly.

PORTLAND POINT.

Name of Master or Mistress of the Family.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
James Simonds.....	4	1	4	3	12
James White.....	4	1	1	4	10
William Hazen.....	4	3	3	2	12
George DeBlois.....	1	1	1		3
Robert Cram.....	1	1	1	7	10
Rebolun Rowe.....	1	1		2	4
John Nason.....	1	1	2	3	7
John Mack.....	1				1
Lemuel Cleveland.....	1	1	1	1	4
Christopher Blake.....	1	1		2	4
Moses Greenough.....	1	1	1		3
	20	12	14	24	70

CONWAY.

Name of Master or Mistress of the Family.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Hugh Quinton.....	2	2	2	4	10
Jonathan Leavitt.....	1	1	1		3
Daniel Leavitt.....	1				1
Samuel Peabody.....	1	1	1	2	5
William McKeen.....	2	1	5	1	9
Thomas Jenkins.....	1	1	3		5
Moses Kimball.....	1	1			2
Elijah Estabrooks.....	1	1	3	3	8
John Bradley.....	1	1	2	4	8
James Woodman.....	2				2
Zebedee Ring.....	2	1	2	1	6
Gervas Say.....	1	1			2
Samuel Abbott.....	1				1
Christosher Cross.....	1	1			2
John Knap	1				1
Eliakim Ayer.....	1			1	2
Joseph Rowe.....	1	1	1	2	5
	21	13	20	18	72

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According to Mr. Simonds' return all the individuals at Portland Point with one exception, and he an Irishman, were born in America. At Conway all were natives of America with the exception of two persons of English nationality. Mr. Simonds observes in a note appended that there were at this time about thirty families of Acadians on the river.

The Conway people had 2 horses (both owned by Hugh Quinton), 13 oxen and bulls, 32 cows, 44 young cattle, 40 sheep, 17 swine. The return of domestic animals at Portland Point seems defective. However, a memorandum in one of the old account books dated November 29, 1775, show that Messrs. Hazen, Simonds and White owned at that time 14 cattle, 14 sheep, 11 horses, 21 colts, 1 mule and 1 jackass—the last two animals the property of Mr. Simonds. The other settlers owned 8 cows, 4 young cattle, 4 sheep and 6 swine. Total number of domestic animals 232.

The dwellings of the settlers at this time were small and built at little cost, some of them log houses. Mr. Hazen's house was by all odds the most substantia building that had yet been erected.

It was at least a year after the arrival of Simonds and White in the first instance before it was determined to confine the business of the company to St. John. According to the first articles of partnership the sphere of their operations included "Passamaquoddy, St. John, Canso and elsewhere in or near the province of Nova Scotia and parts adjacent"—a pretty wide field certainly. The first indication of making St. John the chief centre of business is contained in a letter dated at "Passamaquada," August 18, 1764, in which James Simonds writes to William Hazen:—

"If you and Mr. Blodget think it will be best to carry on business largely at St. John's we must have another house with a cellar; the cellar is now dug and stoned and will keep apples,

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potatoes and other things that will not bear the frost; this building will serve as a house and store, the Old Store for a Cooper's Shop; we shall want also boards for the house, some glass &c., bricks for a chimney and hinges for two doors."

A few months later Mr. Simonds wrote to Newburyport for 5 M. feet of boards "to cover a frame that is now decaying and will serve for a Lime House and Barn." Until the erection of their saw mill a couple of years later most of the building materials had to be imported in the company's vessels.

Among the buildings at Portland Point when the Hazen family arrived, there were, in addition to the residences of the three partners, a smaller dwelling adjoining the Simonds house, another small dwelling and barn, a store called the Lime Store, another the Log Store, another the Salt Store (or Cooper's shop), another the New Store, and a blacksmith shop. The "New Store" was finished about the time of Mr. Hazen's arrival; it stood near the old mast dock a little to the west of the Point. On the 21st July, 1775, the goods were removed from the old store to the new.

At this time nearly all the settlers on the St. John river obtained their goods from Hazen, Simonds and White. The little schooner Polly made frequent trips to Maugerville and St. Anns and no craft was so well known on the river in those days as she. A glance at the old account books shows that on one of her trips up the river, May 10, 1773, goods were sold to thirty families at various points along the way, and consignments were also left with Benjamin Atherton & Co. of St. Anns, with Jabez Nevers of Maugerville, and with Peter Carr of Gagetown, to be sold on commission for the company. A similar trip was made in November, 1775, before the close of navigation, and a considerable quantity of goods sold to more than forty families whose names appear in the accounts. Various articles were received from the inhabitants in return, the

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business being largely one of barter. Edmund Price, one of the Gagetown settlers, for example, delivered to the company nine chaldrons of Grand Lake coal at 20 shillings per chaldron, showing that the mines were then worked to a limited extent.* Quite a number of the settlers in Conway were employed by the company in various capacities and as they were nearly all tenants of Hazen, Simonds and White they naturally procured whatever articles they needed at the Portland Point store.

During the first six months after Mr. Hazen's arrival the names of no less than 120 different customers representing as many households, are found entered in the day book kept by James White; of these 25 were residents at Portland Point, 20 lived across the river in Conway, 45 belonged to Maugerville, 20 to other townships up the river, and 10 were merely transient visitors.

In the autumn of the year 1775 the company sold three-eighths of their old schooner the Polly to Joseph Rowe and James Woodman, two of the Conway settlers and the former seems to have sailed in her as captain. James Woodman was by trade a shipwright, and a man of enterprise and very fair education. He associated himself in business with Zebedee Ring and their names appear in the pages of Mr. White's journal as "Woodman & Ring." They were engaged in 1775 in building a vessel for the company. To assist them a man named John Jones† was brought on from Mass-

*The Grand Lake Coal mines are said to have been first worked by Joseph Garrison, who was a native of Massachusetts and a grantee of Maugerville in 1765. He was grandfather of William Lloyd Garrison, the celebrated advocate of the abolition of Slavery.—See Sabine's Loyalists, also Collections of N. B. Hist. Soc. for 1897, page 310.

†John Jones, with one Peter Connor, who also came to St. John in 1775, afterwards settled on Kemble's Manor. Jones' farm of 400 acres was situate at what is known as "The Mistake" at the head of Long Reach. The Kingston Loyalist settlers, while they were building their log houses in the summer of 1783, lived in tents on the bank of Kingston Creek. They used to send over to Mr. Jones' place for milk and other things, and the kindness of the Jones family was rendered doubly acceptable on account of an epidemic of measles that broke out among the children. The old Raymond house built at Kingston in 1788 is now

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achusetts. The frame of the vessel was on the stocks and partly planked but she was destined never to sail the seas : her fate will be referred to in the next paper of this series. James Woodman lived near the site of the present village of Fairville. He was employed in 1779 by James White in building the "Indian House" at the landing above the falls.

The mention of the Indian House leads naturally to a few words about the attitude of the Indians towards the white settlers in these early times. In the main they were peaceably disposed till the outbreak of the Revolution, although occasionally the cause of some annoyance. A treaty had been made with them at Halifax in 1760 and for a while they seemed to have observed it fairly well. No doubt the establishment of a garrison at Fort Frederick had its influence in overawing them. In the year 1765, however, the white settlers, who had only begun to establish themselves on their lands, were very much alarmed by the Indians who threatened to take the war path on the ground that the whites had interfered with their hunting rights by killing moose, beavers, and other wild animals beyond the limits of their farms and improvements. Sentries were doubled at Fort Frederick and precautions taken against a surprise. Through the efforts of the government the difficulty was satisfactorily adjusted and hostilities averted.

In all Nova Scotia there was at this time but one newspaper, the Halifax Gazette, of which the first number was published March 23, 1752, and among the earliest local items of news furnished by St. John for

owned by David Jones, a descendant of the old pre-loyalist settler named above. John Jones had a large family of sons and daughters whose descendants in the province are numerous. One of his sons, Samuel, born while his father lived at Manawagonish, in the township of Conway, from the year 1804 to 1815 carried the mails from St. John to Fredericton once a week. At first the mail from Halifax was not opened until it reached Fredericton, the headquarters of the province, whence letters were returned to St. John. The needless delay of a week in transit naturally caused some grumbling on the part of St. John people.

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the press was the following which appeared in the Gazette:

> "We hear from St. John's in this Province that on the 30th September last [1764] about Twelve o'clock at Noon, a very severe shock of an Earthquake was felt there."

Another event of a still earlier date appeared in the Gazette, which, although not apparently of so local a nature, was much more disastrous in its effects, this was the terrific gale of November 3, 1759, which in its fury rivalled, if it did not surpass, the famous Saxby gale of October 5, 1869. The tide is said to have reached a height of six feet above its ordinary level. Driven by the storm huge waves broke down the dykes at the head of the Bay and caused much damage along the coast. A considerable portion of Fort Frederick was washed away, and the next spring Engineer Winckworth Tonge was sent by Governor Lawrence with orders to repair damages and put the fort in the most defendable state the situation would allow, taking from Fort Cumberland such tools and materials as were necessary. The damage to the fort was not so serious a matter as the destruction of the forest. The woods near the Bay of Fundy were levelled by the gale and all the country up the St. John river as far as the Oromocto incumbered with fallen trees. Fires, subsequently kindled amongst the fallen timber, ran in the most destructive fashion, and it is said that in the year 1772 all the country below the Oromocto on the west side of the river was burnt over quite down to the coast.

James Simonds had, in the year 1762, decided to establish himself at St. John, having spent several years in quest of a desirable situation. Accordingly, in conjunction with his brother Richard, he took possession of the "Great Marsh" to the eastward of the harbor and cut there a large quantity of salt hay. At this time

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Mr. Simonds had no claim to the lands other than the promise of a grant from the government of 5,000 acres in such part of Nova Scotia as he might choose. He continued to cut hay and make improvements on the marsh from time to time, and occasionally speaks of operations carried on there in his correspondence. For example, in June, 1768, he wrote to Mr. Hazen, "Please send half a dozen Salem scythes," adding, with a touch of the dry humor that often crops out in his letters, "Haskel's tools are entirely out of credit here; it would be a sufficient excuse for a hired man to do but half a day's work in a day if he was furnished with an axe or scythe of that stamp."

The first grant included so insignificant a part of the marsh that a further grant of lands adjoining was obtained May 1, 1770. This grant was made in response to a memorial of James Simonds, which was duly considered by the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia, December 18, 1769, setting forth that in conjunction with Richard Simonds and James White he had obtained a grant of 2,000 acres of mountainous and broken land at the mouth of the River Saint John in the year 1765, which had been improved by building houses, a saw mill and lime kiln, and the partners had settled upwards of thirty persons on it, who were employed in carrying on those two branches of business, but that the wood and timber so necessary for them was all consumed, therefore praying that 2,000 acres more adjoining this tract might be granted to the said James Simonds.

It requires a considerable stretch of the imagination to believe that all the wood north of the city of St. John to the Kennebeccasis river had been consumed during the five years of the company's operations at Portland Point. But probably the supply of lumber in the immediate vicinity of the saw mill, as well as the

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wood most convenient to the lime kilns, may have been cut, and this afforded a sufficient pretext on which to base an application for another grant. The bounds of the second grant were as follows:—

"Beginning at a Red Head in a little Bay or cove to the eastward of the Harbour at the mouth of Saint John's River described in a former grant of 2000 acres to James Simonds in the year 1765,* being the south eastern bound of said grant, thence to run north 75 degrees east 170 chains, thence north 15 degrees west 160 chains or until it meets the river Kennebeccasius, and from thence to run westerly until it meets the north eastern bound of the former grant."

The location of Red Head—that is the Red Head intended in this grant—was afterwards the subject of dispute and in the year 1830 seriously engaged the attention of the Common Council of St. John, but of this more anon.

W. O. RAYMOND.

THE WRECK OF THE ENGLAND.

The loss of the ship "England" in Courtenay Bay, St. John harbor, in December, 1846, was the most serious marine disaster that ever took place in the waters immediately around the city, and to many of the older people in this vicinity it is to this day one of the saddest reminders of the holiday seasons of the past. Though more than half a century has passed, it is not difficult to find those who remember well the night of the occurrence and the incidents which attended the affair, up to the time of the burial of the body of the captain in the lot where a now crumbling stone records in brief the story of the tragedy.

The "England" was a full rigged ship of 484 tons, built at Ten Mile Creek, St. John county, in the year 1837. by Captain Robert Ellis, who was the principal

* Red Head is thus described in the former grant: "Beginning at a point of upland opposite to his [Simonds] house and running east till it meets with a little cove or river, thence bounded by said cove till it comes to a Red Head on the east side of the cove."

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owner. The vessel was iron-kneed and copper sheathed, and had a particularly high forecastle, even for those times, which were before the days of deck houses forward and aft. The "England" had for some years been owned by parties in Cork, Ireland, and was engaged in the ordinary trade between Liverpool, London and St. John.*

On this last and fatal voyage the ship had sailed from London, in ballast, during the latter part of September, under command of Captain Andrew Irving, a native of London and a stranger to the navigation of these waters. This was his first voyage to St. John. The autumn of 1846 was a particularly bad one, marked by several severe storms, and thus it was that the long period of eighty-four days passed before the ship came in sight of the harbor of St. John. The ship's complement was twenty men, but a less number was sufficient for general purposes, and on this occasion the total number on board was seventeen, including two apprentice boys, one of whom was related to the captain.

Mention has been made of the stormy character of that season. Just a month before Christmas, on the night of the 25th and morning of the 26th of November, one of the heaviest gales known in the history of the city was experienced in St. John and along the coast. It was the worst known since the great storm of 1819. In this gale the steamer "Atlantic" was lost off the coast of Connecticut and many passengers perished, while the St. John steamer "North America" was wrecked off the coast of Maine. In the city of St. John trees were uprooted, chimneys blown down and roofs of houses partially wrecked. The new ship "Howard" was driven ashore near Rankin's wharf and

* In addition to my own records relating to this disaster, some important points have been developed by interviews with Mr. Hugh Bustin, one of the coroner's jury, and Mr. Patrick Trainor, who was with Pilot Haviland in the "Rechab" at the time.

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fell over on its side, while the barque "Commerce" was jammed across the ferry slip in the midst of a quantity of timber. Other vessels were driven into the timber ponds, a schooner and a woodboat were sunk near the end of North wharf, and there was much other damage done. The "England" had its experience of this gale on the ocean, but came through it safely, and as Christmas week approached it came up the Bay of Fundy. Captain and crew alike were doubtless rejoicing that, after nearly three months' buffeting with wind and wave at that inclement season, they were at last drawing near to port, where their perils would be over and their hard experience forgotten in the joys of a Christmas on land.

The "England" was sighted off Partridge Island early in the afternoon of Saturday, the 19th of December, in company with two other vessels, the barque "Oromocto," from London, and the brig "Charlotte," from Yarmouth. These were a little in advance. The barque was in charge of Captain David Cronk, a well known shipmaster who thoroughly knew the harbor, and the "England" would have been safe in following him. The brig and the barque, passing the Island, kept the course of the channel to the westward. The "England" had no pilot on board. The pilot boat "Rechab," with John Haviland, branch pilot, had gone out to her, but a strong south-west wind was blowing and Haviland could not board the ship. He shouted what he thought were simple directions as to the course to be taken, and then put his boat about, signalling for the ship to follow in its course to the westward.

Captain Irving knew nothing of the harbor, but he had with him a mate, one John Robertson, who claimed to know all about it, from having been in a surveying vessel with Admiral Owen in the Bay of Fundy, some

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years before. Relying on his statements, the captain entrusted the guidance of the ship to him and paid no further attention to the course of the pilot boat or the other vessels.

It was then about an hour and a half before low water, and the wind was growing stronger every minute. Under the mate's directions, the ship came along before the gale, under its three topsails and standing jib, and bore directly down upon the Foul Ground, on which, about half-past four o'clock, it struck with great force and remained hard and fast. At this juncture, Pilot Haviland got aboard, with one of his apprentices, Patrick Lennihan, with the hope of still saving the ship. By this time darkness had set in and the force of the wind was unabated. Nothing could be done until the flood tide should come, which would be after six o'clock, and the captain and crew had their supper as usual. While at supper, the second mate directly laid the blame of the disaster to Robertson, the first mate, who was in some way related to the captain. Had he assumed to know less and followed the pilot boat, the ship would have been safe. There was no time for discussing what might have been, however, and the great question was as to what could be done to make matters better. The only hope was that when the ship was floated by the flood tide it might be worked to a secure part of the harbor.

There was then no breakwater at the west channel, and with a southerly wind the sea had a clean sweep up the harbor. It was running furiously on this night, and when the flood tide lifted the ship it tore away the rudder, and the vessel came off the Foul Ground wholly unmanageable and with water over the ballast in the hold. It was out of the question to handle the sails so as to make a course, and the "England" was driven on the Round Reef, south of the Ballast wharf.

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There it remained for a time, when it went on the Dulse Reef, nearer the shore. It was then evident that the ship must go to pieces, and all hands went forward for safety. In this they made a fatal mistake. Had they gone aft they would have been safe, as was afterwards found, and they would have been perfectly secure had they taken shelter in the cabin, for the bedding in the berths was not even wet when the wreck was visited on the following day.

It was then nearly midnight. The night was intensely dark, and the scene of horror cannot be described. The vessel broke in two on the reef, and the foremast went by the board. As it did so, the broken part of it, near the heel, struck Captain Irving, killing him instantly and severing his body into two parts. The survivors clung to the top of the forecastle, which began to drift around Courtenay Bay, while the sea made continual breaches over it. Some of the party were lashed with lines, but all were in danger of perishing by the exposure. At length the drifting forecastle was driven on the east shore of the Bay, along which it was carried by wind and tide until it came to where the stern of the ship had been driven, at the rocks which make out on the sands a little to the north of the alms house. By this time four of the crew were dead. These were John Smith, of Liverpool, seaman, Thomas Rogers, cook, with Francis Burdett, of London, and Charles Ward, of Coventry, apprentices. Young Lennihan, the pilot apprentice, who was a splendid swimmer, urged Pilot Haviland to attempt to get ashore, and the venture was made with success, use being made of the wreck of the stern for a part of the distance. Then the other survivors were got to the land, but not without difficulty and danger. So exhausted were the men with their terrible night's experience that on getting ashore some of them lay down on the snow ready to

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fall asleep, and had it not been for the strenuous exertions of Pilot Haviland they would have continued to lie there till the sleep of death overtook them. Rousing them up, he conducted them to the alms house, where they received every possible care.

The bodies of the dead were looked after on the following morning and placed in an outbuilding. It was a sad enough sight, that of the five frozen remains of those who, at sunset the day before, had been abounding in life and hope. Two of the bodies were those of mere boys. An inquest was held on Monday, when a verdict was returned in accordance with the facts. The only member of the coroner's jury who is now living is Mr. Hugh Bustin.

One of the sailors rescued from the wreck was kindly treated by a family living in that vicinity. He thus made the acquaintance of a daughter of the owner of the house, to whom he was afterwards married.

The "England" had been consigned to the Hon. John Robertson, and it was supposed be would attend to the burial of Captain Irving, as became the latter's position and the sad circumstances under which he met his death in a strange land. There appears to have been some mistake made in the matter, however, and there was great surprise and indignation among the shipmasters when they learned that both captain and crew had been buried as paupers in the Old Burial Ground, that the undertaker had taken the captain's body to the grave late in the afternoon, that it had not been followed by a single mourner, and that no minister of religion had been called to commit the body to the earth. Upon learning these facts, a meeting of the shipmasters was held at the St. John hotel on the evening of Saturday, the 25th of December, an odd enough kind of a Christmas gathering, but one which

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they felt would not bear postponement. The object of the meeting was stated to be the eliciting of information relative to the interment of Captain Irving and his men, "reports having got into circulation that they had not received a christian burial," and Captain Abell occupied the chair. Captain Taber opened the proceedings by some remarks in which he characterized the affair as a foul blot on a christian community, asserting that a man who had lost his life in the exercise of his duty had been dragged to his final resting place like a felon, betwixt daylight and dark. He used other strong language, and trusted the blame would be put where it belonged.

At this stage of the proceedings, Hon. John Robertson sent a note requesting that he be heard before the meeting, and he was accordingly admitted. His explanation was that he gave orders to the undertaker to have the bodies decently and respectably interred, without either extravagant or unnecessary expense, as soon as it could conveniently be done. After this Mr. Charles McLauchlan had called on him and said there was a feeling against the bodies being buried in the poor house burial ground, that the collector of customs (Mr. H. Bowyer Smith) and other officials had made a contribution toward funeral expenses, and that he, Mr. McLauchlan, was willing to take charge ot the arrangements. Mr. Robertson had replied that Mr. McLauchlan would have to see the undertaker, as the bodies were in charge of the coroner. He also had suggested that the bodies be buried side by side and a tombstone erected, towards which he offered to contribute. He had left the arrangements with Mr. McLauchlan, and had not been aware of the interment until the next evening.

Captain John Leavitt then took the floor, and a lively passage of words ensued between him and

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Mr. Robertson. After the latter had retired, Mr. McLaughlan was admitted, and detailed the efforts he had made to find the undertaker in time, but said he had met him only when he was on his way to the grave with the captain's body. The meeting then expressed its approbation of Mr. McLaughlan's conduct, and proceeded to pass the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the remains of the late Capt. Irving be removed from their present resting place, and conveyed to the grave from some respectable dwelling, for the purpose of being re-interred, and that a tomb-stone, containing a suitable inscription, be erected to his memory, and also to the memory of those of the crew who perished with him."

It was also resolved that a subscription list be opened to defray the necessary expenses, and that the proceedings of the meeting be published in the city papers. In addition to Captains Abell, Taber and Leavitt, some of the well known old time shipmasters present were Captains Hippesly, Thomas Reed, Stephenson, Dudne and Wiley. The sum of £22. 16s. and 6d. was subscribed on the spot, and at a later date a balance remaining after the payment of funeral expenses was sent to Captain Irving's widow and family in England.

The place where the bodies had been buried was in the lower portion of the Old Burial Ground, next to the building lots on Union street. This was the part of the ground where free interments were made. The bodies of the sailors were allowed to remain there, but that of Captain Irving was disinterred and on Wednesday, the 29th of December, ten days after the disaster, the funeral took place from the house of Mr. James Milligan, King square. The day was marked by an exceedingly violent snow storm, but a very large number of people attended and followed the body to the Church of England Burial Ground, beyond the Marsh Bridge. In due time a plain free stone tablet was

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placed over the grave, bearing the following inscription :—

IN MEMORY OF

ANDREW IRVING,

LATE MASTER OF THE SHIP OF ENGLAND OF CORK.

Who perished on the wreck of that Vessel
In Courtney Bay, entrance of this Harbour,
On the night of the 19th of December, 1846.

ALSO

John Smith, seaman, Thomas Rogers,
Cook, Francis Burdett and Charles Ward,
Apprentices, who perished at the time
The remains of Capt. Irving are interred
On this spot, those of the sufferers with
Him are interred in the old graveyard
In this City.

This stone is erected by the Shipmasters
And others in the port of St. John.

The stone is to be seen on the high ground in the eastern part ot the burial ground. There is no enclosure or any evidence of care, and of the hundreds who have read the inscription, few have heard, until now, the full details of the story of the wreck of the "England." W. K. REYNOLDS.

ABOIDEAU?

The discussion of the derivation and the radical signification of this word in the pages of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE has revived in this community recollections of previous efforts to settle the question now raised afresh. I remember two former occasions on which considerable space in the columns of our St. John newspapers was filled by contributions from various correspondents, who all had theories according to which the matter might be explained. Nearly all

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the suggestions which have recently appeared have thus been made before.

At the time of the first discussion I have referred to, I was too young to take any deep interest in it, although I can recall something of what was said concerning it by those immediately about me, and of the opinions they entertained. When, several years afterwards, the question arose again, I sought rather carefully to find a satisfactory solution. And I could discover no form of the word which appeared a better one than *aboideau*. I came to the conclusion that this form is a condensation of the somewhat pleonastic expression "l abbé d' eau." Abée is a well-established old French word, whose meaning is *a mill-dam*, or, simply, *a dam* It is, probably, the basis of our law-term *abeyance*, which appears in Norman French as *abbaiaunce*; and it is obviously a better foundation for that word than the verb *bayer*, which has for its chief meaning *to gape; to look for a long time at a thing with one's mouth open.* In law, as in popular usage, *abeyance* signifies a state of suspension, or condition like that of a stream whose flow has been interrupted by a dam. Abée might by an easy and regular stage of transition come from *abai*, and,—the *ai* having *oi* for its equivalent in sound in the older speech,—our phrase would be in its original form, "*l' aboi d' eau*;" and being compressed with the articles omitted, *aboideau*.

The suggestion that this form of the word comes from the phase "une boîte d'eau," or "a la boîte d'eau" —"at the water-box"—is of no value, since it is plain from Diéreville's account of the Bay of Fundy dykes—in which account occurs the first description we have of what he calls, or what he says the Acadians called, *aboteaux*—that the name was given to the whole structure of the dam, and not to the sluice alone. Besides, in the French of two hundred years ago the word

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for *box* was spelled *boiste*, and the *s* was distinctly sounded whenever the word was spoken. The hissing character would have been very likely to keep its place in the unrefined, un-academized speech of the old settlers in these distant provinces. If our Acadians had derived a word from this source, it would, almost inevitably, have become "*boiste d'eau*," and, if retrenched at all, "*boisseau*".

The passage in which mention of the *aboteaux* was first made, and in which that name was apparently first written, is found in the volume entitled "Voyage du Sieur de Diéreville en Acadie, ou Nouvelle France." Diéreville set out for Acadie in the year 1699, and returned to France in the year following. His book was published at Rouen in 1708. In his description of the good qualities of the country which the French settlers near the shores of the Bay of Fundy at that early date occupied, he refers to the difficulty of clearing and cultivating the high lands, and continues thus:

"Il faut pour avoir des bleds, dessécher les marais que la mer en pleine marée inonde de ses eaux, et qu'ils appellent les terres basses; celles-là sont assez bonnes, mais quel travail ne faut-il pas faire pour les mettre en état d'être cultivées? On n'arrête pas le cours de la mer aisement; cependant les Acadiens en viennent à bout par de puissantes digues qu'ils appellent des aboteaux, et voici comment ils font: ils plantent cinq on six rangs de gros arbres tous entiers aux endroits par où la mer entre dans les marais, et entre chaque rang ils couchent d'autres arbres le long, les uns sur les autres, et garnissent tous les vides si bien avec de la terre glaise bien battue, que l'eau n'y saurait plus passer. Ils ajustent au milieu de ces ouvrages un esseau de manière qu'il permet, à la marée basse, à l'eau des marais de s'écouler par son impulsion, et défend à celle de la mer d'y entrer."

Those readers who can render this extract into English themselves will pardon me for offering the following translation of it to those who do not habitually translate from the French:

"It is necessary, in order to raise grains, to drain the marshes which the sea at high tide overflows with its waters; and which they (the Acadians) call the lowlands. Those lands are good enough; but what labor does it not require to put them

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in condition for cultivation? It is not easy to stay the course of the sea: the Acadians nevertheless accomplish the task by means of strong dykes which they call *aboteaux*; and this is how they make them.—They set up five or six rows of large trees, quite entire, at the places by which the sea enters into the marshes, and between the rows they lay other trees lengthwise, one upon another, and they fill all the empty spaces so well with soft clay, well packed, that the water can no longer pass through. They fit in the middle of these works a flood-gate (un esseau) in such a manner that it allows, at low tide, the marsh-water to flow out by its own pressure, and prevents the water of the sea from entering."

A translation of a part of this quotation is given as a note by Mr. Beamish Murdoch on page 540 of the first volume of his valuable History of Nova Scotia. But he offers no explanation of the exact meaning, or of the composition of the words *aboteaux* and *esseau*.

From the way in which Diéreville introduces them it is obvious that *aboteau* was in his day not a classic or an usual term in the French language. Indeed, it has always been considered and treated as an Acadian word, which came into existence under peculiar circumstances among the early European inhabitants of the alluvial lands that lie around the Bay of Fundy, in the counties of Annapolis, Kings, Hants, Colchester and Cumberland, in Nova Scotia, and in the counties of Westmorland, Albert, St. John and Charlotte, in the province of New Brunswick. That circumstance has led almost everybody to look for the origin of the word in some peculiar expression prevalent in those districts of France from which the first civilized colonists in Acadia came. Guided simply by the spelling of the first part of the words as Diéreville's book presents it, the main effort has been to get hold of a verb or a noun beginning with *abo*,—from which either the form *aboteau* or the form *aboideau*;—which latter one has by some means become predominant in printed pages,—could be obtained. Accordingly, attempts have been made to connect *aboideau* especially with *aboyer*, by attaching to that verb the sense "to keep at bay," and

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with the noun *abois*, which means the condition of a hunted animal brought to bay. None of these attempts, however, have been entirely successful. One correspondent of this Magazine, Mr. George Johnson, favors the easy,—too easy—deduction of the word from *aboi* and *d'eau*. And another contributor, M. Raoul Renault, pointedly exposes the weakness of this explanation.

There is less reason to support the far-fetched and fanciful notion, which Dr. S. E. Dawson entertains, that *aboiteau* is the correct form of the word, and that it is derived from an obsolete Norman French verb *bot*—a branch of a tree. In the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, it is said, a billet of wood, or a branch of a tree, fastened to a horse's foot, or leg, to prevent him from leaping over fences, is called *abot*, and that to clog, or hopple, an animal in that manner is expressed by *aboter*. From this fact, or because the dykes described by Diéreville are built with untrimmed trees as their framework, the conclusion is reached that *aboiteau* is the word used by the Acadians, and that its signification is a *water-clog*. For myself, I am strongly inclined to doubt the existence of *bot* as a merely Breton word. It is the old French form of the modern French *bout*, meaning an *end*, *extremity*, *piece*, *part*, and not a *tree* or a *branch* of a tree. The *aboteau* of Diéreville is, moreover, something more than a mere *water-clog*, whatever that may be; and neither the assumed Breton root *bot* nor the *abot* found in *patois* of the Channel Islands furnishes a solid basis for it. I have not within my reach George Metioier's *Dictionaire Franco-Normand*, else I might have more to say in reference to these words. If, however, in that *patois* the clog attached to a breachy horse's leg is called *abot*, is it not highly probable that the word is simply the equivalent of the ordinary French *botte*, the Spanish and Portu-

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guese *bota*, the Italian *botte*, the Welsh *botas*, the Irish *butais*, and the English *boot*? *Aboter* then would mean to *a-boot*, or to put on a boot, or hopple, of any kind, and not necessarily one specially made of a billet of wood, a branch of a tree, or of a whole tree with its branches. And either boot or clog is a very clumsy name for a dyke.

Even after I had carefully read all that has appeared relating to the subject in the previous numbers of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE, I adhered firmly to my long-standing opinion that the best, if not the only proper, form of the word employed by the Acadians was *aboideau*, and that it was derived from abée, *a dam*, in the manner I have above mentioned. When I informed the editor of the magazine of my intention to write something in support of my opinion, and expressed my regret that I had not found in Saint John a copy, in the original, of Diéreville's book on Acadie, which I had never seen, he kindly placed in my hands his copy of the edition published at Quebec in 1885 by L. U. Fontaine. From it I extracted the paragraph in reference to the Acadian dykes. And I was gratified at finding, quite unexpectedly, that M. Fontaine, in a note upon the word *aboteau*, says that it is a modification of the *Celtic* abée,—the word from which I had derived *aboideau*. But before I had sent to the editor my brief comments, I happened to be reading a page of French in which there met my eye *abat-jour*,—a word bearing the meaning, *a sky-light*. My attention being arrested by the first part of the compound, there occurred to me at once the other architectural term *abat-vent*. And then I said to myself, Eureka! If a structure designed to admit, or to exclude, or to give a certain direction to, the light of day is an *abat-jour*, and a structure designed to shut off the wind is an *abat-vent*, why should not a structure contrived to

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keep out the influx of the tides be an *abat-eau*?

I soon found other similar compound nouns, which strengthened my conviction that here at last is a perfectly satisfactory solution of the question in regard to the orthography of the word we are discussing. Let us examine the definitions and the applications of several of these compounds. Some of them are to be found in English as well as in French dictionaries, having everywhere the same senses, since they are distinct technical terms.

Abat-jour, which,—the t being often omitted, is also written *abajour*,—is thus comprehensively defined in the "Century Dictionary": "Any contrivance to admit light, or throw it in a desired direction, as a lamp-shade, a sky-light, a sloping, box-like structure, flaring upward and open at the top, attached to a window on the outside, to prevent those within from seeing objects below, or for the purpose of directing light downward into the window."

Abat-vent: Dr. Ogilvie's "Imperial Dictionary" gives this term as derived from *abattre*, to lower, and *vent*, the wind, and defines it as, "The sloping roof of a tower; a pent-house; so named because the slope neutralizes the force of the wind." The "Standard Dictionary's" definition is, "A device to break the force, or prevent the admission of wind; a series of slats with inclined faces, arranged vertically, with intervals between, as in a belfry window; a sloping roof; a chimney cowl."

Abat-voix: In the "Imperial Dictionary" derived from *abattre* and *voix*, the voice; and defined as, "The sounding-board over a pulpit or rostrum; so named because it prevents the speaker's voice from rising and being lost or indistinct."

Abat-foin: In "Spiers and Surenne's" French dictionary, this is given as an agricultural term,

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meaning "an opening over a hay-rack, through which the hay is put in." It was fitted, I presume, with a lid, or trap-door, which, being closed, shut off the hay-mow from the stable below it.

Abat-faim: This is given in the same dictionary as an expression in familiar speech, to denote "a substantial, large joint of meat,"—that is, something by which hunger (*faim*) is abated, or kept off.

Here are five compound nouns, in each of which the force of the prefix *abat* is clearly to impart the sense of a barrier, a defence, a protective structure. And there are other similar compounds almost as good for the purpose of our argument. To me, this evidence is quite conclusive in favor of *abat-eau* as the original and true form of the name given by the Acadians to the structure by means of which they shut out from their marshes the swelling tides of the Bay of Fundy. Many of their descendants, as well as many English-speaking people who now live in the vicinity of the dykes they built, drop the initial vowel of the word *abat-eau*, and call a dyke of this special kind a "bato" placing the accent upon the long final syllable, and making the preceding vowel so brief in utterance that its sound might be expressed in writing by an *a*, an *e*, an *i*, an *o*, with perfect indifference. That M. Diéreville should have expressed that sound by an *o*, and have written the full word, which he heard uttered quickly, "aboteau" cannot surprise us. Or, that the word, as it stands in his text, is merely the result of the error of a printer who mistook a defectively-shaped *a* for an o, is surely, a very reasonable supposition.

It really is a very strange thing that the word, either as it is spelled in Diéreville's volume, or as *aboideau* is included in none of the French dictionaries, except, as a friend has informed me, in the supplement

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of M. Littré's great work. He gives *aboteau* and says that it is a word used in Saintonge with the signification of a dyke. To call in question so eminent an authority may be presumptuous; but it may be remarked as a very singular circumstance that, if used at all in France in Diéreville's day, it should have been regarded, as it evidently was regarded, by him in the light of a peculiar, local and new word. And why have not its derivation and its orthorgraphy been long since settled and commonly understood in Old France and in Canada?

The only one of our English dictionaries in which I have found it, is "The Century," where it is given in this curt and unsatisfactory way: "*Aboideau* or *Aboiteau* (of uncertain French origin): A dam to prevent the tide from overflowing the marsh. (New Brunswick)." This statement does not add much to one's knowledge of the word. But our modern, or more recent, compilers and editors of English and of French lexicons, although some of them, doubtless, have been very learned men, are not, as a class, particularly perspicacious persons.

The derivation and meaning of the prefix *abat* afford a subject worthy of investigation. In all the instances cited, and always, the word bears with it the sense of something constructed or contrived as a defence or protection against the action of a substance in motion, or in resistance to a force of some kind. This inherent sense seems to connect it readily with "abée,"—from which, indeed, it may have been formed. It appears, too, to be nearly related to *abattre*—to beat off, or keep off,—to *abois*, to the *abatis* used in fortification, and to our *abate*.

It may, however, be entirely independent of any affinity with those words.

There rises before me the possibility of a very

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different and a remote origin for *abat*. Artemisia, that queen of Caria who flourished in the same age with Xerxes,—in the fifth century B. C.—and who immortalised herself by her great deeds, especially in building at Halicarnassus that magnificent tomb for her husband, Mausolus, which was called the *Mausoleum*, and which has transmitted its expressive title as a common noun to all the languages of the civilized world, also erected in Rhodes a monument, or *Tropaeum*, to commemorate her conquest of that island.

"When the Rhodians regained their freedom, they built round the trophy, so as to render it inaccessible, whence it was known as the—*abaton*."

This structure having been spoken of by Vitruvius, the eminent writer upon architecture in the time of the Roman Emperor Augustus, the Greek word passed into the Latin language as a common name for an inaccessible, or impassable, structure May not *abaton*, as an architectural term, have passed from Rome farther westward, and become *abat* in the language of France?

Here I leave *abat-eau* with the readers of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE, having a modest confidence that not a few of them will agree with me that this word, the composition of which is perfectly analogous with that of several other words of the same class, is the true and proper form of the name given by the old Acadians to the structures by which they protected their valuable marshes against the inroads of the sea.

ESSEAU.

It may not be amiss to present, as an appendix to the fore-going remarks, a few observations upon the other unusual word which Diéreville introduced in his description of the dykes he found in Acadie—the word

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esseau. According to a note supplied as an editorial explanation by Monsieur L. U. Fontaine, this word appears in the Glossary of the Norman *patois* to be the name of a ditch through which the over-flow on a marsh takes its course. This explanation, we perceive at a glance, does not explain much.

There is a word *esseau* in French which has two different, and apparently not closely connected, meanings: 1. "A small, curved hatchet"; 2. A board to cover roofs, i. e. a shingle." These definitions lend us no assistance in an attempt to interpret the Norman *patois.* But, assuming the word to be good, ordinary French after all, although it has not obtained admission to the dictionaries, let us apply to it the same simple mode of analysis that we have applied to the *abat-eau.* Considering it as a compound, "*esse-eau,*" we have only the meaning and derivation of the first part to discover. What then is an *esse?* An *esse,* or—as it is in its abbreviated form—an *ess,* is, first, the name of the letter S; then it means *a piece of iron,* shaped like an S, such as we often see used as *a clamp, to hold together weak walls*; then an iron to grasp and hold stones that are being lifted; then, as an "esse d'affût," it is the *fore-lock,* or *linch-pin,* of a gun-carriage wheel, or of any truck—having, perhaps, in such uses the form of an S; then as a key for any kind of bolt; and then, *a catch,* or *clasp*—possibly also resembling an S—as used in mediæval armor to hold the *helm,* or *beaver,* to the *gorget,* or to the *breast-plate* in front.

The "flood-gate," or valve, in an *abat-eau* performs just this office of closing and clasping the structure that keeps out the water. It is, therefore, an "*ess-eau.*"

W. P. Dole.

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CHRISTMAS AS IT WAS.

The year 1808, time about three o'clock in the afternoon, of a fine winter day in the middle of December. A portly gentleman, considerably past middle age, is standing on the stoop of his residence on the corner of King and Germain streets, and a young lad is on the sidewalk, looking inquiringly at him.* "Run Charles, there countryman coming down the street to 'Kent's.' See what he has got in his saddle bags, before Col. Billop gets hold of him." The boy starts off and brings the countryman to the old Major, and submits his load for examination. He has two geese, a fine turkey and several pairs of chickens and partridges, which are quickly bargained for and carried into the house. Christmas is at hand and it is necessary to have the larder well supplied.

At that period the country was but sparsely settled, roads were few and did not extend far in any direction from the city, except the main road to Sussex, in which direction the country was being rapidly cleared and opened up for farming. There was no market in St. John, farmers came to town, some in wagons in summer and sleds in winter, and others from remote clearings on horseback. The only market they had was the public highway on King street.

About this time of the year there was great rivalry amongst the householders to get first chance from any countryman coming into town with poultry or game, hence the words of the Major to his son.

* All versed in the history of St. John will recognize in the Major and his son, the grandfather and father of the writer of this sketch—Major Ward and Charles Ward. The Ward house was at the south-east corner of King and Germain streets, now occupied by Hall's book store. Kent's corner, later Foster's corner, was on the opposite side of Germain street. The picture drawn by the present writer is practically one of Christmas in the Ward household.—ED.

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The summer business was over. The West Indian fleet had sailed, the fishermen and coast settlers had loaded their "Chebacco" boats with tea, sugar, tobacco and with clothing, not forgetting a "cag" (so pronounced) of Jamaica "spirits" and other necessary articles for winter supplies, and had gone to their several destinations. The town was very small and all were acquainted, and the long winters were devoted to comfort and enjoyment. The houses were solidly built to resist cold, with low ceilings and fire places wide and open; the best of hardwood was plentiful and cheap, and all the people were fairly well to do.

The Christmas holiday at that period was long looked forward to by old and young as a time of great enjoyment, and every preparation was made to give it due honor. The housewife, for many days before, was in the kitchen with her maids and the cook, who was always a colored woman. In most cases she had come with the master from the old home by the banks of the Hudson, or some other pleasant place in the land of their birth. The old Loyalists were fond of good living, and in their reunions would boast to one another of the capabilities and wonderful resources of their old black cooks, somewhat in the manner that the nabobs of the old world would talk of their "chefs".

The old fashioned kitchen had an open fire place, in or before which all cooking was done. The poultry and meat were roasted before the open fire on a spit, which being slowly turned, greatly "did" the meat all through and preserved all the natural juices and flavor. In these degenerate days we *bake* our meats, and very few now living, I suppose, ever ate a *roasted* turkey.

In the kitchen, the cook was paramount and despotic. Even the mistress was somewhat in awe of her on these occasions, and would never venture to give an

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order, but meekly suggest what she thought might be done.

All supplies were laid in, early in the winter: Beef by the quarter, a pig, poultry of all kinds, and maybe some moose meat and caribou. All the meats, not salted or pickled by the mistress, were kept frozen in a place prepared in the barn. The cellar was well supplied with potatoes, turnips and other vegetables, and in one corner, carefully railed off, was a space especially under the care of the master of the house, and his deputy, the old family servant, who generally spent his life in the household, and considered his master a greater man than the governor of the province. In the corner was stored a cask of madiera, another of port, and one of sherry, and chief among them, the main stay of the supply, a cask of Jamaica rum, very old, and very fragrant. Brandy and whiskey and other fiery liquids were not then in general use. There might be a bottle of brandy in the house, but only to be used as a corrective of internal disturbance arising from too generous an indulgence in the good things of the season.

Every preparation was made for a befitting celebration of the important day. Those who had been remiss or improvident, scoured the adjacent country to see if any unfortunate fowl or bird had escaped the promiscuous slaughter. The girls and their mother were unremitting in their work in furnishing a bountiful supply of pies of al kinds, and cakes and doughnuts. In that day the doughnut was king of the feast, fat, juicy and crisp, well cooked and wholesome. In these degenerate times his glory has departed. We are half ashamed of him, and though still considered a requisite of the Christmas holidays we eat him in a furtive manner, and many loudly declaim that they never eat doughnuts, call them bilious, and apply other heretical calumnies to what in old times was considered indispensable to

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the festival. Most old fellows carried doughnuts about in their pockets, and ate them at all sorts of unseasonable hours, and I have heard of some of the old families who made them by the barrel!

But the principal party was old Dinah, the cook. She was in her glory. Fat, and at ordinary times the soul of good nature, on this occasion, under the weight of the responsibilities put upon her, and to uphold the reputation of her master's house for gastronomic superiority, she became a very tyrant in her domain; none dare dispute her orders, or suggest changes or improvements in her dishes. They simply became humble assistants in the great work of preparation for the Christmas dinner. And this dependence was well repaid when the festal day arrived and the products of her culinary art were proudly placed on the table, and elicited delighted encomiums from all who partook of them, but her greatest reward was when the old master turned to her and said, "Well done, Dinah!"

Early on Christmas morning, the young men assembled in some open field and tried their skill as marksmen by shooting at live turkeys buried to the neck in the snow, leaving the head only visible. Their guns were old flint muskets, which formerly had done service in the war of the Revolution across the border. The range for shooting was about 30 or 40 yards, so the unfortunate turkeys had a poor show for their lives, but as the killing of them was the main object of the gathering it is to be hoped the aim was generally good. Sixpence or a shilling was the price usually paid for a shot, and some of the crack ones generally brought home two or three birds as a result of their skill. These sports came down to modern times, they were quite in vogue forty or more years ago, and may still be practised in some country districts.

The older people, before church time, visited each

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other and talked over the business of the year, and the prospect of the West India trade, and told old time stories of their adventures in the war, and of perils and hair breadth escapes from pirates and privateers on their West India voyages. In those days, the French privateer and picaroons of all nations, were accustomed to lie in wait in the out of the way harbors and lagoons of the island of Cuba; and pounce from thence on our unfortunate merchantmen as they proceeded on their voyages to and from the islands.

It is scarcely necessary to relate that these discourses were punctuated, as it were, by frequent adjournments to the sideboard, where decanters of wine and other cordials, flanked by jorums of good old Jamacia, were set out for the refreshment of all who desired. In that day the sideboard was never empty, and an invitation to partake was not considered necessary. It was presumed that each one knew what his requirement was; there were no pressing to drink, but it was there for each one to help himself.

There must have been something really *preservative* in Jamaica rum; all drank freely of it, and it has been remarked, that seldom or never in a representative body of men, have so many reached extreme old age, as was the case with the majority of the men who came here in 1783. This may be verified by any one looking over files of papers published sixty years ago, and noting the extraordinary number of deaths of old men ranging from 75 to 95, in which it is stated in the obituary notice that he came here a Loyalist in 1783.

It was not the crude rum of commerce, doctored and adulterated, such as is the vile stuff too commonly sold at the present time. The preparing and mollifying of Jamaica such as was used by the old merchants of St. John was almost an art, and great care and attention was given to the process. In the first place they

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imported from the island the pure unadulterated juice of the cane. That for their own comsumption was kept a year or two in cask; then, when duly seasoned, it was hoisted to the top story of the store or warehouse, and stood at the edge of the hatch. On the floor below of the three or four story building was a large butt. A spiggot was driven into the cask above, and a very slight stream of liquor, almost drop by drop, was allowed to fall into the butt below. As it became full it was carefully ladled out and bottled, and then put away sometimes for a year longer. This process was supposed to eliminate all the fiery spirit of the rum, and in four or five years it became so mild and palatable that it could be drunk without the addition of any water.

As an instance of filial affection, and also of the high regard in which a seasoned cask of rum was held, it is related that during one of the disastrous fires which periodically devastated St. John many years ago, one of the members of a firm came to his store on the wharf when all the buildings around were fiercely burning. His younger brother was busily engaged with a gang of men rolling out the goods, to save as much as possible from the flames. The elder earnestly inquired of his brother, "Have you got out your father's puncheon of rum?" The younger man made some impatient answer, and went on with the word of salvage, but the senior insisted on all work being stopped, and taking the men into the store, he brought out the puncheon of rum, and had it conveyed to a place of safety, and then allowed the work of saving ordinary merchandise to go on.*

The hour appointed for church service found the old people with their wives and families assembled at Trinity church. The Rector, the Rev. Mather Byles,

*This incident occurred during the fire of 1837. The cask was owned by Major Ward, the elder brother was John Ward, jr., and the younger was Charles Ward.—Ed.

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was rector of Christ church, Boston, at the time of the Revolution; he was a devout Churchman, and most exemplary christian, but some what eccentric. It is said that he was opposed to having stoves or any manner of heating in the church, and that he kept himself warm by wearing a fur coat under his surplice, and gloves with the tips of the fingers cut off on his hands, to facilitate the turning of the leaves of his book. His unfortunate congregation did not fare so well, especially the womankind, and it was part of the duty of the small boy of the household to carry a pan of live charcoal to the family pew sometime before service commenced, to keep warm the feet of the female members of the family. One of the old settlers has told me that, when a boy, he often carried the warming pan to the church for this purpose. The pews were built very high, not much more than the head and shoulders of a man appearing above the top of the enclosure, and running around the four sides were brass rods on which were hung red or green baize curtains. These curtains were drawn back during service, but on the commencement of the sermon they were closed, and no person was visible in the church, but the minister in his high pulpit, and it was quite startling, on the conclusion of the sermon, to hear the curtains sharply drawn back, and see the people emerging from their seclusion to join in the closing services. Church being over, they wended their way homeward, the elders gravely discoursing about the sermon, or maybe critising the discordant notes of some over zealous member, who more enthusiastic than skilful, raised his voice in the psalms and hymns appointed for the occasion, for in those days all the congregation (who could sing) were expected to join in the choral part of the service.

The great event of the day was still before them—the Christmas dinner—preparation for which had long

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been going on in the household. Hospitality was one of the great virtues of the time, and at the table of the head of the family were gathered all the descendants, including those who had married and gone out of the household, and their children of befitting age, and also two or three old friends and comrades who had remained single and had not homes or families of their own to make merry with—all were assembled on that one day in the year in affectionate re-union at the old homestead.

At the head of the table sat the white haired grandfather, still hale and hearty, though many years had gone over his head since he first drew his sword in what he considered his duty to his king and country; behind his chair stood his old servant Richard, who had faithfully served his old master for many years.

The usual hour for dinner was 4 o'clock. All being assembled at the table, thanks were given for many mercies and for the bountiful repast before them, and the Christmas feast began. The viands were all the product of the country. Turkey, beef, poultry, game, venison, all the best of their kind; good humor, mirth and jollity were the order of the day. After the solids were removed, came on desert, pies, puddings, custards, nuts, apples and other good things, with port, sherry and madeira. It was the day of toasts and drinking wine with each other, the latter being a very particular ceremony. One would request of his neighbor "the pleasure of a glass of wine with you," which being responded to, each would fill his glass, then, bowing to each other as gravely as Chinese mandarins, they drank the wine and silently replaced the glasses on the table. This ceremony went around the table from neighbor to neighbor and was often repeated, and always with due gravity and decorum, any flippancy on the part of the younger members being severely frowned

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at as a thing not to be tolerated. Meanwhile, the younger folk had gathered in an adjoining room with the matrons, and made merry with games, and minuets and country dances.

The elders generally sat long over their wine. Over indulgence was not encouraged, and an intemperate person was as much avoided as at the present time, but if an old fellow got a little more than he could carry it was not thought to be much out of the way. So as the evening went on some one of them would quietly drop off into a doze in his chair, the warmth of the room, good cheer and generous wine having produced a feeling of comfort and repletion. Presently the host would make a suggestion that, all having had sufficient, enough of the evening was left for a game of whist, or if any of them felt inclined, for a round dance with the young folk in the adjoining room. Accordingly they would adjourn to where the young people were enjoying themselves; perhaps some septuagenarian, recalling the agility of his younger days, would lead one of the elder ladies to the dance. They made a picturesque couple, he in his blue tail coat, high collar behind nearly reaching to the crown of his head, bright metal buttons—those behind in the middle of his back—with knee breeches, silk stockings and pumps, and she in her old fashioned short waisted black silk gown, with lace collar and cuffs, and mittens, (without fingers) of knitted silk on her hands.

The old gentleman brightens up at the music, remembrances of his old time skill at the dance at balls and assemblies in old New York come to his mind, and he astonishes his old comrades by his pirouettes, and the sprightness with which he "cuts a pigeon wing," as he glides through the figures of the lively dance, and finally it comes to an end, and somewhat breathless and wheezy, but with old time courtly grace, he makes

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his bow and conducts his partner to a seat. His old friends congratulate him on his grace and agility, which they say might equal that of a much younger man, at which the old fellow is pleased, and straightens up his back, and tries not to feel the twinge of lumbago which the extra exertion has brought on.

Midnight comes and the party begins to break up. Those who have to go home wrap themselves up in shawls and furs, the sleighs come to the door, and with much handshaking, blessings and good wishes, the holiday comes to an end.

Those of the household who remain behind, gather around the fire, and indulge in reminisinces of by gone times. The old folk recall the days of their youth by the fireside at the old homstead on the Hudson. When they look around and see the sturdy young men and handsome girls who have grown up around them, they give thanks in their hearts for all the blessings vouchsafed them, and for the happy termination of what, for many years, was a life of anxiety and struggles and disappointments, and for the pleasant home they have made in the wilderness far removed from the land of their birth.

CLARENCE WARD.

THE ACADIAN MELANSONS.

I must enter my humble but emphatic dissent from the dictum of M. Richard, (Acadia, p. 29) adopted and elaborated by Mr. Hannay in THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE, vol. 1, pp. 129 *et seq.*, that the father of the two Melansons named in the census of Port Royal, taken in 1671, was one of Sir William Alexander's Scotch Colony who had remained in the country and joined and intermarried with the French. I submit the following considerations :

1. He was, as Mr. Hannay himself shews, the

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MAJOR JOHN WARD.

. . . "*At the head of the table sat the white-haired grandfather, hale and hearty.*"—Page 358.

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Sieur of La Verdure, a title somewhat analogous to that of Laird in Scotland, identifying him with the gentry or petite noblesse of France, or certainly a position higher than that of the ordinary peasant, artisan or soldier. His high authority as Captain Commandant of the garrison corresponded with the social rank indicated by his title. D'Aulnay would never select one of Sir William's humble Scotch followers, but rather a well educated and well bred Frenchman, as tutor and guardian of his children.

2. The Abbé Sigogne is my authority for the assertion that Melançon (c cedilla) was the old and correct spelling of the name, although the "s" being *idem sonans* is permissible.

3. Names ending in "son" by no means bear unmistakable evidence of being of British or Scandinavian origin, for there are hundreds of French names with that terminal syllable not connected either in origin or meaning with the ordinary English or Tuetonic "son" or "sen".

4. The termination referred to came into use to form a patronymic, by adding it to ordinary Christian or given names of parents: so Danielson, English, Danielsen, Danish, son of Daniel; Johnson, English, Jansen, Dutch, for son of John; Thomson, for Thomas' son; Nicholson, for Nicholas' son, and the like; but there is no similar Scotch or English name which could have been thus compounded to form Melanson.

5. I have overhauled a Directory of Scotland, and cannot find there any name which could be identified with Melanson or gallicized into that form, although it is easy to imagine the English Coulston, or the Scotch Colinson or Collison assuming among the French the form Colson, or Colleson. The nearest approach to the name Melanson that I could find in the Directory is in the Irish and Scotch Mullan, and McMullin.

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As to the Martin family being Scotch, I would like further to remark that the name Martin is equally English, Irish, Scotch and French; and perhaps the same may be said of Vincent, although I think the latter name is more common in France than in the United Kingdom. The mere names in these two cases prove nothing; but it seems impossible that the immigrant ancestor of the Melansons could have been of Scottish birth. A. W. SAVARY.

A HALIFAX MYSTERY.

On Christmas day, 1824, one Edward Shea, a schoolmaster of Rawdon, came to Halifax and went to the house of an acquaintance with whom he usually lodged when in town. He was a man of about sixty years of age, who had formerly been in the navy, but who now lived humbly on a small pension which he eked out by teaching school in an out-of-the-way country district.

It was after dark, between six and seven o'clock, when the solitary old man dropped into the before-mentioned house, and took a glass of punch with the landlord and some other men who were drinking about the cosy fire-place. His costume consisted of a short blue jacket with metal anchor buttons, light blue homespun trousers, and an old black hat. He was much fatigued, for during the day he had travelled some thirty to thirty-five miles—a remarkable achievement for one of his age and slight frame.

After drinking the liquor, he begged for more, but this his entertainer refused to give him, as he did not appear to be entirely sober. Being without money, he then offered his black-silk handkerchief as a pledge,

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but the other still refused to comply with his wish, and the old man left the house much offended.

About one o'clock at night, Shea, still somewhat intoxicated, knocked at Dr. Stirling's, and asked the apprentice who opened the door if he could there obtain a night's lodging. The doctor's servant, not knowing Shea, told him that there were several public houses near at hand, at any of which he could doubtless put up, and accordingly the man left and turned up the hill toward the North Barracks. At the gate of the latter was pacing a sentinel of the 81st, whom Shea approached and requested lodging in the guard-room. The soldier directed him to the main guard, and the man stumbled off, but instead of going as directed he walked to some houses opposite and then turned and went through a turn-stile and approached the officers' quarters, after which he passed out of sight of the sentry who, giving him little further attention, paced up and down in the keen frosty air, his mind filled with thoughts of the hard luck that had placed him on duty at such a time of universal merry-making, occasional sounds of which came to him from the adjacent row of houses.

The North Barracks were situated to the north-east of the citadel hill, near the intersection of Brunswick and Cogswell streets. Early in the history of the town military quarters had been erected thére, and in the closing years of the last century the building was well-known as the Red Barracks. The men's quarters were built about a quadrangle, while to the northward, outside the quadrangle, extended a separate building of more recent date, three stories high with a hip-roof. This was the officers' quarters. They were entered by three doors with pillars on either side. From the upper windows could be obtained a magnificent view of the harbour and of the wooded hills of Dartmouth beyond.

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In front of the building was a grass plot enclosed by a low railing, and a number of large poplars stood a few rods from the doors. Beside the innermost group of these was a well about ten feet deep.

The old officers' quarters still stand almost unaltered, being at present used as a military store-house. The remaining barrack buildings were burnt down by a terrific conflagration that took place in December, 1850, the officers' quarters escaping owing to the direction of the wind and to their being detached from the neighboring structures. New barracks now occupy the site of those that were destroyed.

To the south-east of the citadel was another long building, known as the South Barracks, standing on the site of an old fort that had been erected at the settlement of the town. Between this and the North Barracks extended a street, now part of Brunswick street, that might be described as the western frontier of the town, and just above, on the green slope of the citadel, stood the old town clock, whose bell told the inhabitants of the passing hours. This street was then usually called Barrack street, but it was also appropriately nicknamed "Knock-me-down" street. Although physically the highest, this was morally the lowest quarter of the town, and even in day-time few cared to risk themselves within its precincts. Here lived white and colored people of the most degraded and dissolute class, nearly every building being a tavern or a house of ill-fame. Robberies and murders and riots, which had from time to time occurred here, caused the place to be shunned by everyone of respectability. Such was the scene of this story at the period of which I write.

The garrison of Halifax then consisted of three regiments of foot, with corps of the Royal Artillery and Engineers. The line regiments consisted of the 74th,

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the 81st, and the 96th. The latter, which had been raised early in 1824, with its officers from the half-pay list, had arrived at Halifax in two detachments in August and September of the same year. It was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Herries, who had formerly commanded the 100th foot from which he had retired on half-pay, but who had later accepted the lieutenant-colonelcy of the new regiment. Among the ensigns of the 96th, was Richard Cross, who is said to have been an Irishman, rather young, tall, well-made and with pleasing manners. He had received a commission as second lieutenant in the 11th regiment, otherwise known as "the Cherubims," on 28th October, 1813, but had gone on half-pay when that regiment with many others had been reduced at the close of the Napoleonic wars. When the 96th was raised, he was commissioned an ensign and came with the corps to Halifax, when he entered into the life of an officer of that garrison, with its rounds of balls, dinners, drives, horse-races, rackets, and amateur theatricals.

On the Christmas in question, Mr. Cross spent the evening at Lieutenant Spratt's of the samé regiment, in company with three brother subalterns named Nugent, Story and O'Brien. About half-past one o'clock they left their entertainer and proceeded homeward, singing and talking, It was a cold night, without a glimpse of moon. They passed through the turnstile of officers' quarters at the North Barracks, some ten or fifteen minutes after Shea had left the sentry, and their mirthful demeanor was a fresh reminder to the lonely soldier of the gaiety he was missing at that gayest of all seasons.

On entering the barrack square O'Brien fell, and, thinking his arm was broken, called out "Oh, dear! Oh, my arm!" Nugent, turning round, said to one of his companions, "Go back and see what is the matter

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with the boy." The injury was found to be trifling, and the three men entered the quarters, whereupon Story went to his room and Nugent and O'Brien accompanied Cross to his apartment, which was at the back of the south end of the building and behind the staircase on the ground floor. Cross took off his regimental dress-coat, as was usual when in quarters, and sat in his shirt sleeves, and as he had not been on duty, he was, of course, without his sword. Bottles and glasses were on the table and the trio, or some of them, drank therefrom.

About a quarter of an hour later, Ensign Costello, who had been spending the evening with Colonel Foster of the Artillery, entered the quarters, and, hearing voices in Cross's room, went thither, where he found the three subalterns. He stayed for about half an hour discussing the occurrences of the evening, and then saying good night left to go to his own room, which was upstairs. He had not, however, proceeded three or four steps on the stairs when he stumbled over a man lying in his way. Supposing it to be one of the officers' servants who had been keeping Christmas, he endeavored to arouse him, upon which the fellow muttered something indistinctly. The ensign then returned to Cross's room for a light. Taking up a candle, Cross went into the hall in his shirt sleeves, and together they raised the man, who we may say was Shea, and requested him to leave the building. As he seemed unwilling to do so, Cross took him by the collar and, assisted by Costello, pushed him into the porch. This was about two o'clock. Neither Cross nor Costello carried or wore a sword.

Costello said he thought they had better shut the door, and on examining the lock a small bolt was discovered with which they made it secure. Before they left the hall, the man returned and said he had lost his

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handkerchief, whereupon, Costello felt about the floor, and finding the missing article tossed it out and then fastened the door. While waiting for his servant to bring his key, Costello heard the man muttering outside and knocking on the panel. He gave the fellow little further consideration, however, and on receiving his key, went to bed.

Cross returned immediately to his room and told Nugent and O'Brien that he and Costello had turned out a man who had been on the stairs. Nugent and O'Brien remained half an hour longer, or until nearly three o'clock, and then went to bed.

Next morning, Sunday, the town was startled by a report that a man had been murdered at the North Barracks.

It appears that one Edward Harlins of the 74th, who was servant to Captain Crabb and who slept in the officers' quarters, arose before daybreak, at about a quarter to seven, and on looking out of the barrack window saw indistinctly in the gloom a man lying near the well in front of the building. Suspecting something was wrong he dressed, and on going down found the man lying on his face with his right hand extended to his neck and his left arm across his body. He ascertained that life was extinct, but without making any particular examination. Calling to a private of the 81st, named Rogers, who happened to be passing, he drew the latter's attention to the man, and then left. Rogers turned the body over and was shocked to find that the poor fellow had been murdered, a deep wound being in the breast immediately before the right shoulder. Although it had been freezing during the night, he perceived that the body was not yet stiff, and some of blood about the wound was not frozen. The man had evidently not long been dead. On the snow near the feet he observed drops of blood, and from thence he

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traced a few spots about six yards toward the barracks.

The startling news spread with the rapidity usua on such occasions, and soon an immense crowd had gathered. The body proved to be that of Shea, the old pensioner. One man, James Crosskill, made a careful examination of the corpse. On placing the back of his hand on the body he detected indications of heat. He and Mr. Greenwood, the coroner, who had been summoned, and others, traced small drops of blood on the snow, from close to the body to within three yards of the south door of the officers' quarters, towards which they ranged. The drops ziz-zagged for a short part of the distance. The coroner and others carefully examined the whole square but could find no other blood marks. Some drops were noticed on the road outside the square, but they were doubtless from some goaded oxen that had been driven by early in the morning.

The body was moved to a neighboring barn, where it was examined by Doctors Stirling and Head. They found that the weapon that had caused death had gone through the jacket and shirt, had struck and split the fourth rib and also broke it transversely, and had then gone into the cavity of the chest and penetrated the vena cava about one and a half or two inches from the heart, but had not passed through the vein. The wound was two or three inches deep, and three-quarters of an inch in length externally. From such a wound death would ensue in a very few minutes. The coroner's jury, which investigated the case the day the body was found, brought in a verdict of "Wilful murder by some person or persons unknown."

Soon after the discovery of the murder, an ugly rumour rapidly spread that the old man had been killed by an officer of one of the regiments. On Monday, the 27th, a young gentleman whose name was not given,

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was examined at the police court for implication in the murder, but was discharged.

On the following day, Tuesday, it was stated that the reports in which an officer was mentioned had originated with a colored girl of ill-fame, and on her being examined she unhesitatingly pointed to Ensign Richard Cross, of the 96th Regiment, as the guilty man. It seems that Cross had gone to his colonel and told him that rumors were abroad relative to his connection with the death of Shea, and his commander advised him to go to the public court and have the affair investigated, which he had accordingly done. On the girl's statement he was arrested and committed to the county jail. The case excited the most intense interest, and was discussed from end to end of the town until it became almost the sole subject of conversation. The brother officers of the accused man were naturally much horrified and would not believe the terrible accusation. The newspapers, owing to the prisoner's high social position, withheld his name and were extremely reticent about the whole affair. On the 29th, the Nova-Scotian stated that examinations were taking place, but merely mentioned that an officer was implicated. Only the most vague references to the supposed culprit were made in the other papers. On the first of January, however, the Recorder, feeling it should maintain no distinction of persons in such matters as this, boldly gave the name and regiment of the suspected officer, for which indiscretion it was strongly criticised by some of its political opponents, the Free Press in particular.

On that day another person was committed under suspicion. Who this was I do not know, but he must have been discharged soon after, for I find no further mention of him.

On January 5th thé Gazette contained two offers of reward, of one hundred pounds each, from the

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officers of the garrison and from the provincial government, the first dated December 31st, the second, January 4th, for information leading to the conviction of the murderer. No clue, however, was obtained by this means. The whole town continued to talk of nothing but the mysterious case.

The supreme court met on January 11th and the grand jury presented a bill of indictment charging the prisoner, Richard Cross, with having killed Shea.

At length the 18th of January came around, the day set for the trial. The court sat in the apartment which is now the legislative library, the room in which I write these lines. The day was very mild, all the snow having disappeared under the influence of a thaw. The court room was crowded to the utmost, even greater numbers attending than had been drawn by the preliminary examinations before the magistrate.

HARRY PIERS.

(To be concluded next month.)

WHEN TELEGRAPHY WAS YOUNG.

With nearly half a hundred telegraph operators in and around the city of St. John, with a network of wires all over the country and the clicking of relays and sounders in the most remote villages of the Maritime Provinces, we are so accustomed to think of the electric telegraph as an essential to do the business of the country that we cannot imagine a civilized people existing without it. Yet it may be well for the young folk to remember that the telegraph is a very modern affair, that very many of the living can recall the time when it was absolutely unknown, and that a still larger number remember the time when it was looked upon as an

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experiment of more than doubtful value from a financial point of view.

With Christmas week of this year, it will be just half a century since the first telegraph message was sent from St. John to any point beyond the province, or to any point within the province. The first telegraph message in the world, between Baltimore and Washington, was sent in 1844, and there is living in St. John a man who saw the first telegraph wire stretched in the city of New York, in the spring of 1846. This gentleman is Mr. Thomas M. Robinson, well known as a veteran in the service, and who is very well informed as to the early days of telegraphy.

Taking the history of the existing telegraph systems in the order of time, this paper would have to deal with the agitation for a line between Quebec and Halifax, in 1847, but as the purpose is rather to show what was actually accomplished, this branch of the subject must be passed over. At a meeting held in Halifax on February 10, 1847, it was agreed to form a company to construct a line to Amherst, to connect with a line in New Brunswick, with the branches to St. John and Fredericton, the estimated cost of the line to Amherst being £4,000. New Brunswick, however, had not then awakened to the necessity of the new invention, and nothing was done in this province until the following year.

In July, 1847, a private letter received in St. John from New York, stated that Mr. F. O. J. Smith, (who was later known as "fog" Smith) was about to visit St. John to arrange for placing that city in telegraphic communication with New York. So far as appears, Mr. Smith did not come, but soon after this Col. J. J. Speed undertook to form a company in New York to build a line from Portland, Me. to Halifax, there being already communication between Portland and New

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York. The story of the efforts in the United States, however, does not immediately pertain to the present sketch, except so far as it is necessaay to say that in due time a company was organized in Maine, and that the importance of a line through the province was early recognized in St. John. So far as this province is concerned, however, it remained for a citizen of the United States to work up the interest and carry the project into effect. His name was L. R. Darrow.

Mr. Smith, representing the assignees of the Morse patent. was heard from again in February, 1848. At a meeting of the St. John Chamber of Commerce, on the 23d of that month, the then U. S. consul, Israel D. Andrews, presented a letter from Smith, proposing the establishment of a line through New Brunswick to connect Halifax with the lines then building through Maine. It was thereupon resolved—

"That the Chamber has long looked forward to such a line, and consider its establishment as of the first importance to the interests of this Province, and do therefore recommend that every facility and encouragement be given to any Company undertaking to carry into effect such a desirable object; and that Messrs. Duncan, Thurgar and Jardine be a Committee to prepare a Bill and Petition to be laid before the Legislature for the purpose of obtaining an Act of Incorporation for the Company, and to correspond with and lend assitance to any parties inclined to embark in the undertaking."

The committee lost no time in having a bill prepared to incorporate the New Brunswick Telegraph Company. The corporators named in the bill were Thomas Leavitt, Charles Ward, William M'Lauchlan, John Duncan, Robert Jardine, John V. Thurgar, Israel D. Andrews, Francis O. J. Smith, Nathan Cummings and Amos Kendall, the last four being citizens of the United States. The bill came before the legislature on the 4th of March, and on the 30th of that month it became law. On the 10th of May, Mr. Darrow, assignee of the Morse patent, arrived in St. John, and

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the work of getting the company into shape and raising the money was begun.

This was harder work than one might suppose. The Chamber of Commerce had indorsed the project, but the merchants were not enthusiastic when it came to the matter of putting their names down for stock. The capital was fixed at £25,000, in shares of £10 each, but only a few prominent men, such as Hon. John Robertson, Robert Jardine, Edward Allison, John Duncan, J. & R. Reed and W. & R. Wright, subscribed for ten shares each in what was destined to be one of the best paying investments ever offered to the people of this country. About one third of the stock was raised in St. John, another third in Halifax and at intermediate points, such as Westmorland and Cumberland counties and in Charlotte county, while the remaiming third was taken by Mr. Darrow himself.

During the summer of 1848 arrangements for building the line through the province were made, and the construction of the line between Portland and Calais was begun. In Nova Scotia, the government undertook the construction of the line from Halifax to Amherst, but agreed to give Mr. Darrow's company the use of one wire for its messages.

It was estimated that the cost of construction of the line from Calais to Amherst, a distance of 240 miles, would be $150 a mile, or a total of $36,000. Mr. Darrow visited the various points along the route and asked for subscriptions proportionate to their size and importance. St. Andrews was then considered a greater place than St. Stephen, for it was asked for £1,000, while the border towns of both St. Stephen and Calais were asked for only £800 between them.

In the light of the universal use of the telegraph today, it is interesting to note what was expected of the line in the way of revenue at the outset. Mr.

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Darrow figured that on the Portland and Calais line the press messages from Halifax on the arrival of English steamers would amount to $5,200 a year. It was estimated that there would be ten private messages a day from Halifax to the United States, including messages from Europe by the steamers, and ten from the United States to Halifax. Between St. John and the United States it was estimated there would be five private messages each way, which, at 50 cents a message, would yield a revenue of $1,500 a year. There were to be eight stations in Maine.

By the latter part of September, 1848, the contracts for posts between St. John and Calais were completed and the work of building was pushed forward in order to have the line in operation before the first of the following year. At a meeting of the New Brunswick Telegraph company in October, Hon. R. L. Hazen presiding, the directors elected were F. O. J. Smith of Boston, L. R. Darrow of New York, Robert Jardine, Edward Allison and John Duncan. Mr. Jardine was chosen as president, and was for long after the active spirit of the enterprise, in association with Mr. Darrow.

By the first of December all the posts were up between St. John and Calais, the wire distributed along the line, and twenty miles of it strung to the eastward of the latter town. The shop of Mr. Smellie, on a portion of the ground now occupied by the Stockton building, Prince William street, was rented for the St. John office and Mr. James Mount, formerly of the British army, and who was well known in later years as Adjutant Mount, was selected as the operator. He had learned to operate in Quebec, using a paper recorder, as the art of taking by sound was not then known.

The final link between St. John and the United

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States was completed when the wires were stretched across the falls of the River St. John, on Dec. 23, 1848, The first message received was from Harris H. Hatch, at St. Andrews, to William J. Ritchie (afterwards chief justice) at St. John, congratulatory on the completion of the line, For a day or so there was a little trouble with the line west of Calais, but by the end of the year the electric circuit was complete from St. John to New York.

The little office on Prince William street was the wonder of the city for many days, and crowds blocked the side walk to hear the clicking and whirring of the Morse recorder, and to watch the strip of paper passing through it while Mr. Mount noted the mysterious characters which were formed by the dots, dashes and spaces.

Such was the beginning of the electric telegraph in St. John, just half a century ago. In the following year the line was completed to Halifax, and charters were granted to companies in various parts of the province. There is much more to be told of these early days, and I had hoped to tell it, after a fashion, in this paper, but the subject is one that grows beyond the allowable limits of this occasion, and must be deferred to a future date. How the news was sent in the early days, where the offices were located, the expansion of the business, with incidents of this and that period, may, perhaps, be of more general interest than the few facts now given as to the actual beginning of the communication of St. John with the outside world by the medium of the electric telegraph.

ROSLYNDE.

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IN THE EDITOR'S CHAIR.

THE CHRISTMAS NUMBER.

The first volume of THE NEW BRUNSWICK MAGAZINE is completed with this number, and to mark this period, as well as to honor the appoaching holiday season, a double number is given. The word "given" is used advisedly, for it is in a large sense a gift from the publisher to the public for which no immediate financial return can be expected. A double number means double cost, and though the retail price is advanced for this occasion, the sales are but a small proportion of the edition, the greater part of which goes to those who are already subscribers, and who are presumably satisfied with publication as it ordinarily appears.

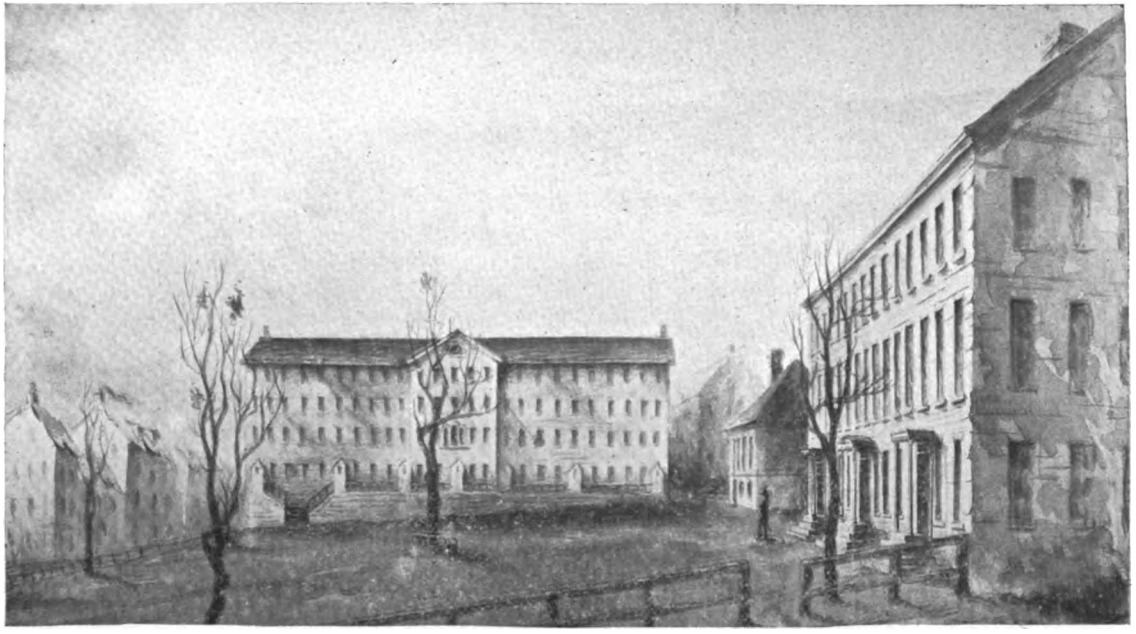
It was hoped that a much better Christmas edition could be issued, with a larger number of illustrations, but this would have been practicable only with a more liberal advertising patronage than has been extended. The publisher is anxious to show his friends how much he appreciates them, but the line must be drawn somewhere, even in the holiday season.

The contents of this number are such as to need no commendation. Prof. Ganong's paper on the Ashburton Treaty gives a view that is opposed to the popular idea that New Brunswick was a loser by the arrangement, but Prof. Ganong has more than theory to support his contention, and he makes a very clear case which every man in the country ought to study. His paper is a very important feature of this issue.

Mr. Raymond is so well known, and his work is

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THE NORTH BARRACKS, HALIFAX, PREVIOUS TO THE FIRE OF 1850.

(From a Drawing by HARRY PIERS; to illustrate "A Halifax Mystery."

The south door of the quarters is that at the further end of the building, where the man stands. The well was close to the tree in the centre of the grass plot.

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so fully appreciated, that no special mention is required of his continuation of the story of the early settlers at St. John. This series of papers must rank for all time as one of the most valuable contributions ever made to the recorded history of the province. With all that has hitherto been told of the post-loyalist period, little has been known of the important era of the first English settlers, and Mr. Raymond is doing a great work in placing the events of that time so clearly before the world in the pages.

Mr. W. P. Dole appears in THE MAGAZINE for the first time, but it is hoped that he will be heard from again at no distant day. Though Mr. Dole has won fame as a poet and an essayist, he gives the public too little benefit of his more than ample store of knowledge on many subjects. His present essay, on the meaning of the word "aboideau," is a masterly philogical disquisition worthy of the accomplished linguist, and it would seem, moreover, to definitely settle a question which has for many years been a matter of debate with those who have made a study of Acadia and the Acadians.

Mr. Hannay's series of papers on "Our First Families" is interrupted this month, while he tells the story of the 104th regiment, the body of New Brunswick troops of which so many have heard, but of the career of which so few are well informed. This paper is a very accurate and comprehensive story of the 104th, its men and what they accomplished.

His Honor Judge Savary, of Annapolis Royal, N. S., is another new contributor, but he needs no introduction to those who are interested in the history of the Maritime Provinces. Apart from his prominence in the past in the fields of law and politics, and apart from his judicial position, he has done much service in the lines of local history as the author of a Genealogy of the

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Savary and Severey families and of much other historical work, as well as having been the editor of Calnek's history and other material in the same line. In his short, but well considered paper, this month, he shows cause why the name of Melanson is not Scotch but French.

Mr. Clarence Ward gives a delightful picture of Christmas as it was observed by the good old families in the good old times, and though the period he mentions goes far beyond his own recollection, yet having spent his early years among a long lived family, which dated back in its then active members to the Loyalists themselves, he knows whereof he speaks. To those who do not know that Mr. Ward is a man of most abstemious habits, it may be well to say that he dwells upon the liquid features of old times in a wholly impersonal way, and purely as a matter of abstract history

Mr. Harry Piers, of the Legislative Library, Halifax, tells a graphic story of a famous Halifax tragedy which resulted in the trial ot one of Her Majesty's officers for murder. The occurrence created an intense sensation at the time, and the mystery of who did the deed has never been solved. Mr. Piers is an all round useful man in matters which are in the best interests of these provinces, for he is not only an historian, but one who is active in the lines of general literature, a bibliophile and an enthusiastic worker in the field of natural history. The concluding portion of his paper will appear next month.

The story of the wreck of the ship "England" at St. John, may interest those who have heard more or less of that disaster, as well as many older people who have a personal recollection of the event.

With Christmas week, the electric telegraph will have been in operation between St. John and the outside world for just half a century. In this connection

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a sketch of the early days of the invention is given from reliable data, and it will show how the world has moved since Mr. Mount and his tape instrument were wonders sufficient to cause the citizens to block the sidewalk to get a glimpse of Morse's wonderful invention in actual operation.

Altogether, the double Christmas number should suit a variety of tastes among its readers.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Questions.

35. What is the origin of the term "Bluenose" as applied to the people of the Maritime Provinces?

36. The "Disbrow house," at the corner of Germain street and Cooper's Alley, was the first brick house built in St. John. It was burned in 1877. In what year was it built, and by whom? What is the oldest brick house at the present time? W. E. T.

37. "The Sailor's Return, or Jack's cure for the Hystericks," by a youth in St. John, is the title of a farce in two acts, published in St. John in 1816 and sold by subscription. Does any one know the author of this or where a copy can be seen? J. D.

38. What was the connection of Benedict Arnold with what was known as the Arnold house in Fredericton, which was burned some years ago? L. C. J.

39. What was the period of duration of the Cholera epidemic in 1854 and how many persons are believed to have died of the disease? R. W.

40. What regiments have at various times been in garrison at St. John? How long were the troops in the barracks at Fort Howe and how long at the Lower Cove barracks? J. C. T.

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41. What is the true Indian name of the St. John river? B. G.

42. What is the highest mountain in New Brunswick and the approximate elevation? W. O. R.

ANSWERS.

29. The Moses boat, used by the early Loyalist settlers around St. John, was a peculiar shaped craft, broad and shallow. The model was brought here from the West Indies, where it was used for lightering puncheons of sugar and molasses in the shoal waters, for which it was well adapted. As there was no lack of water at St. John, and as the boat was of a very clumsy fashion for general purposes, it soon fell into disuse. C. W.

32. The battery at Reed's Point was erected in 1793, by Governor Carleton, as a defense against the French, and was named Prince Edward battery, in honor of the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. C. W.

35. The soubriquet "Bluenose," now so familiarly applied to Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers, originated with the Loyalists of Annapolis county, who applied it to the pre-loyalist settlers as a term of "derision" during the bitter struggle for pre-eminence in public affairs between these two sections of the population in the provincial election of 1785. Why the particular term was selected or deemed appropriate I have no idea. For an account of that election, see Memoir of Alexander Howe in the "History of Annapolis County," p. 355.6. A. W. SAVARY.

"The story of a Monument," promised for this issue, does not appear, owing to an accident which has prevented Mr. Howe from completing his work.

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PROVINCIAL CHRONOLOGY.

An event of general interest, a marriage and a death, are given for each day of the month. The marriage and death notices are given as they appeared in the newspapers of the time, except that such phrases as "At St. John" and "on the — inst." are not repeated. Where nothing appears to the contrary, the locality may be assumed to be St. John, while the date of the marriage or death is indicated by the figures of the day of the month before the names and of the year immediately after them.

MEMORANDA FOR DECEMBER.

1.	First steam ferry at Indiantown, St. John.....	1847
2.	Gen. Balfour dies suddenly at Fredericton.....	1811
3.	Reed's Point Improvements decided on.....	1844
4.	James Gough fatally assaulted in Portland.....	1847
5.	H. M. Brig Plumper lost at Point Lepreau.....	1812
6.	Alex. Croke, Administrator in N S.....	1808
7.	St. John Mechanics' Institute building opened.....	1840
8.	Government House, Fredericton, completed.....	1828
9.	Wm. Cobbett arrives at St. John.....	1785
10.	Cape Breton made a county of N. S.....	1765
11.	Patrick Slavin hanged at St. John.....	1857
12.	Old Duke street bethel, St. John, opened.....	1847
13. 14.	Large amount of shipping in St. John and 40 ships on the way from England.....	1844
15.	Funeral of Governor Fraser, at Fredericton.....	1896
16.	Counties of N. S. defined and published.....	1785
17.	T. C. Haliburton (Sam Slick) born.....	1796
18.	Latest date of closing of St. John river.....	1878
19.	Loss of the ship "England," at St. John.....	1846
20.	McFadyan hanged at Pictou, N. S. for murder of Keir,	1848
21.	Capt. W. F. Owen made rear admiral.....	1847
22.	First ship launched by English at Shelburne, N. S...	1786
23.	Brick market house, Market Sq., St. John, opened..	1839
24.	National School building, King Sq., St. John, opened,	1819
25.	Trinity church, St. John, opened.....	1791
26.	Repeal of St. John Water Bill demanded.....	1844
27.	Telegraph line, St. John and Calais, completed.....	1848
28.	43rd Regt at Quebec, from Fredericton, in 12 days..	1837
29.	Charles Redburn hanged at St. John.....	1846
30.	Col. W. H. Hailes died at Fredericton, aged 68....	1821
31.	Destructive storm at St. John.....	1819

(The year of the funeral of Chief Justice Parker was 1865, not 1855, as printed last month.)

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DECEMBER MARRIAGES.

1. TILTON-HARBELL.—1849. By the Rev. Wm. Harrison, Mr. Wm. Morris Tilton, of Musquash, Parish of Lancaster, to Miss Mary Elizabeth Harbell, of this City.

2. PERKINS-DEFOREST.—1840. By the Rev. Wm. Scovil, Mr. D. C. Perkins, Merchant, to Matilda, first daughter of Mr. S. J. Deforest, all of this city.

3. SPEER-MCBETCH.—1834. At Woodstock, by the Rev. Samuel D. Lee Street, Mr. James Speer to Miss Jane McBetch.

4. ANDREWS-SEELY.—1850. At the residence of the bride's father, by the Rev. W. E. Scovil, A.M., Mr. John B. Andrews, to Mary Jane, eldest daughter of Mr. Linus Seely, of the Parish of Kingston, King's County.

5. FAIRWEATHER-FOUGHT.—1847. By the Rev. I. W. D. Gray, D.D., Mr. Edwin Fairweather, to Miss Margaret Fought, all of this Cify.

6. SIBLEY-TURNBULL.—1846. By the Rev. A. Stewart, Mr. Elisha Sibley, to Harriet Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mr. George Turnbull, all of this City.

7. DURKEE-PAYSON.—1846. By the Rev. Henry Daniel, Capt. Lyman Durkee, of Yarmouth, (N. S.) to Mrs. Mary Payson, of this city.

8. STREET-WYER.—1835. In All Saints' Church, Saint Andrews, by the Rev. Dr. Alley, George Dixon Street, Esq., Barrister at Law, to Susan, youngest daughter of Thomas Wyer, Esquire.

9. MCLEOD-INGRAHAM.—1846. In the Parish of Studholm by the Rev. H. N. Arnold, Mr. Alexander McLeod, to Miss Ann Ingraham, both of that Parish.

10. KNOWLES-CHESLEY.—1848. At Granville, N. S., by the Rev. William Temple, Mr. Edward T. Knowles, merchant, of St. John, to Miss Phœbe Jane, youngest daughter of Samuel Chesley, Esq., of the former place

11. MORROW-GARROW.—1849. By the Rev. Robert Irvine, Mr. William Morrow to Miss Isabella Garrow, both of Portland.

12. VAUGHAN-MORAN.—1839. At St. Martins, by the Rev. John Masters, Capt. Henry Vaughan, to Miss Hannah Moran, both of that place.

13. WIGMORE-SMITH.—1834. By the Rev. Dr. Gray, Mr. Samuel Wigmore to Ellen, relict of the late Richard Smith, Esq., of Buctouche.

14. BEDELL-BERTON.—1839. By the Rev. S D. Lee Street, George Augustus Bedell, Esq., of the Parish of Woodstock, in the County of Carleton, to Elizabeth Euphermia, youngest daughter of the late George D. Berton, Esq., of Fredericton, in the County of York.

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15. CAIN-MCMULLEN.—1819. By the Rev. Robert Willis, Mr. Jeremiah Cain to Miss Elizabeth McMullen.

16. MORRISON-EVERETT.—1846.—By the Rev. Mr. Irvin, Mr. John Morrison, Merchant, to Lucy A., eldest daughter of Mr. Thomas C. Everett, all of this city.

17. ALLISON-COGSWELL.—1839. At Sackville, by the Rev. John Black, Joseph F. Allison, Esq., to Margaret Arabella, eldest daughter of Mr. Oliver Cogswell, of Cornwallis, N. S.

18. HARDENBROOK-PURDY.—1838. By the Rev. Dr. Gray, Captain Thomas Hardenbrook, of the barque *Atlantic*, of this port, to Louisa, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Obadiah Purdy, of this City.

19. JACK-PETERS.—1844. At Fredericton, by the Venerable the Archdeacon, William Brydone Jack, M.A., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Kings College, Fredericton, to Marion Ellen, youngest daughter of the Hon. Charles Jeffrey Peters, H. M. Attorney General.

20. PADDOCK-BARTER.—1838. By the Rev. Jas. Cookson, Mr. John A. Paddock to Miss Rebecca Barter, third daughter of the late Joseph Barter, Esquire, both of the Parish of Kingston.

21. WHEELER-JARVIS.—1839. In Trinity Church, by the Reverend the Rector, George Wheeler, Esquire, Barrister at Law, to Caroline, eldest daughter of Ralph M. Jarvis, Esquire, all of this city.

22. OLIVE-HEALES. 1847. By the Rev. Sampson Burby, Mr. William G. Olive, of Carleton, to Charlotte Ann, eldest daughter of Mr. James Heales, of Portland.

23. THOMPSON-DOUGLAS.—1845. By the Rev. Robert Irvine, of the Free Church, Mr. Charles Thompson, of the Parish of Portland, to Miss Mary Ann Douglas, of this City.

24. PURDY-STICKNEY.—1844. By the Rev. Dr. Gray, Mr. John D. Purdy, Merchant, to Miss Hannah Amelia, only daughter of Captain Samuel Stickney, all of this City.

25. SMITH-BRIDGES.—1839 At Sheffield, by the Rev. F. W. Miles, Mr. John T. Smith, of Fredericton, to Miss Letitia Ann, eldest daughter of Mr. H. Bridges.

26. PERLEY-GROVER.—1846. At Woodstock, by the Rev. S. D. Lee Street, T. E. Perley, Esq., to Maria, youngest daughter of the late Mr. Grover.

27. DURANT-HOOPER.—1845. In Trinity Church, by the Rev. the Rector of this Parish, Mr. William Durant, to Elizabeth Jane, daughter of Mr. John Hooper, of Lancaster.

28. BETTS-PURDY.—1839. By the Rev. the Rector, Captain Albert Betts, to Jane F. youngest daughter of the late Mr. Obadiah Purdy, all of this city.

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29. MILNER-MORSE.—1840. At Rocklyn, Westmorland, the residence of the Hon. Edward B. Chandler, by the Rev. John Black, Christopher Milner, Esq., Barrister at Law, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Morse, Esq.

30. PHAIR RAINSFORD.—1847. At St. Peter's Church, Kingsclear, by the Rev. E. J. W. Roberts, A. S. Phair, Esq., to Harriet Jane, daughter of Capt. A. W. Rainsford.

31. SULIS-DYER.—1840. By the Rev. Dr. Gray, Mr. John S. Sulis, of this City, to Mrs. Arixene B. Dyer, third daughter of the late Ezekiel Dyer, of Portland, Maine.

DEATHS IN DECEMBER.

1. WHITEHEAD.—1847. At Dumfries, County of York, Elizabeth, wife of Turney Whitehead, Esq., aged 50 years.

2. BINGAY.—1847. At Yarmouth, (N. S.) John Bingay, Esq., High Sheriff of that County, in the 61st year of age. He formerly represented the County of Shelburne in the General Assembly of Nova Scotia, and possessed much energy and decision of character in the performance of his official duties. His death is much deplored.

3. PUDDINGTON.—1849. At Kingston, K. C., in his 81st year, Mr. William Puddington, leaving a widow and a numerous progeny to mourn the loss of an affectionate husband and parent. The late Mr. Puddington (son of William Puddington and Mary Ames, of Devonshire, Eng.), was born in Edinburgh, in the year 1769; he was quite a child when he embarked for America with his father, who was attached to the Ordnance Department. Mr. P. recollected being in Boston during the battle of Bunker's Hill; and with many anecdotes of the olden time, he delighted to remember the period of touching at Cork, on the outward voyage. While there, according to his story, Lord and Lady Effingham, (themselves childless) were anxious to take him under their protection, and educate him as a son of their own. It is curious to reflect what might have been the fate of the young expatriate had his parents yielded him to the care of a descendant of the illustrious "*Jockey of Norfolk.*"

4. HAZEN.—1836. At Sussex Vale, the Honorable George Henry Hazen, Esq., a member of the Legislature in this Province, aged 52 years.

5. EDWARDS.—1846. In Portland Village, Margaret Jane, wife of Mr. John Edwards, and eldest daughter of the late Mr. James Munro, aged 27 years.

6. GOUGH.—1847. On Monday evening, between 5 and 6 o'clock, in the Parish of Portland, Mr. James Gough, (from the effects of wounds received on Saturday evening,) in the 34th year of his age.

7. SAYRE.—1838. At Dorchester Island, after a painful illness, which she bore with christian fortitude, perfectly resigned, having a well grounded hope through her Saviour, Polly, wife of James Sayre, Esq., in the 68th year of her age.

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Mrs. S. was born at Martha's Vineyard, in the now State of Massachusetts, was the daughter of Dr. Nathan Smith, who came with his family to this Province at the close of the American Rebellion. She has left an aged husband, with a number of children and relatives, to mourn the loss of a truly affectionate partner, a kind and indulgent mother, and a sincere friend.

8. ARNOLD.—1848. At Boston, U. S., in the 49th year of his age, the Rev. Horatio Nelson Arnold, for the last twenty years Rector of the Parish of Sussex, leaving a disconsolate wife and five children, together with a large circle of friends and acquaintances to mourn their irreparable loss. His remains were brought to this city for interment.

9. BARLOW.—1844. Thomas Barlow, Esq., in the 57th year of his age. Mr. B. was for many years a Representative for this City for the General Assembly, and for the last 36 years, in company with his late father and his brother, was extensively engaged in business. Mr. Barlow has left a widow and four daughters to lament his loss.

10. GRIERSON.—1846. At Maskarene, Charlotte County, Mr. James Grierson, aged 105. Mr. G. was one of the Loyalists, who on account of his attachment to the British Government, left the United States, among the sturdy band who arrived on these barren shores, in the year 1783.

11. UNIACKE.—1846. At Halifax, Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke, aged 69 years, eldest son of the late Richard John Uniacke, Attorney General of that Province. He was for many years Attorney General of Lower Canada; one of the Representatives in General Assembly; and a Judge of the Supreme Court.

12. SIMPSON.—1844. At St. John's, Newfoundland, suddenly, Mr. William Simpson, Druggist, formerly a resident of Chatham, Miramichi.

13. FINN.—1847. In the 80th year of his age, Mr. William Finn, Senr., a native of the Parish of White Church, County Wexford, and for the last twenty years a resident of this city. He was much and deservedly respected by his numerous friends and acquaintances.

14. PETTINGELL.—1847. Thomas Pettingell, Esq., in the 85th year of his age The deceased has been doing business in this city for more than fifty years. He is the last male of the members who composed the First Baptist Church formed in this city, in 1810, of which Church he was a Deacon from its formation to his death. In his death the Church of God has lost one of its most liberal supporters, and the poor one of their best friends. His loss will be deeply felt by his sorrowing family, neighbors and friends.

15. MOYES.—1850. At Studholm, King's County, Mr. William Moyes, in the 63d year of his age, a native of Cornwall, England, and for the last twenty years a resident of this Province. His end was peace.

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16. STORM.—1850. After a lingering illness, which he bore with Christian fortitude, Mr. Samuel Storm, in the 80th year of his age, leaving a wife and affectionate family to mourn their bereavement. Mr. S. was one of the old Loyalists who emigrated in 1783 to this country.

17. WETMORE.—1845. At Norton, King's County, in the 82nd year of his age, David B. Wetmore, Esq., one of the first settlers in this Province, and for many years a representative in General Assembly from King's County, and a Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. He has left a numerous progeny, by whom his memory will be long held in affectionate esteem.

18. FINN.—1846. Margaret, wife of Mr, John Finn, in the 41st year of her age.

19. WILLIAMS.—1847. At Hampstead, (Queen's County) Mary, relict of the late Reuben Williams, one of the Loyalists of 1783, in the 96th year of her age.

20. PORTER.—1850. At his late residence, King street, Henry Porter, Esquire, aged 55 years, leaving an affectionate wife and family to mourn their sudden bereavement, and a large circle of friends to sympathize with them. Mr. Porter has at various times filled public offices of honor and trust, and was elected Alderman of King's Ward and Justice of the Peace, for several successive years; he gained for himself by his unswerving integrity and uprightness of character, the respect and esteem of all classes of his fellow-citizens.

21. LAHEY.—1846. Mr. William Lahey, a native of Ballycotton, County of Cork (Ireland), aged 45 years.

22. KING.—1856. At Sussex Vale, John King, Esq., a native of Perthshire, Scotland, in the 68th year of his age, and for nearly fifty years a resident of this Province.

23. SEGEE.—1834. Suddenly, at New Maryland, Mr. John Segee, Senior, in the 71st year of his age.

24. HASTINGS.—1853. Suddenly, on Saturday, John Hastings, Esq, in the 61st year of his age, formerly of Stranolar, County of Donegal, Ireland, and for many years a respectable Merchant in this City.

25. CANBY.—1854. After a few days illness, Ruth Canby, relict of the late Joseph Canby, in the 87th year of her age. She was one of the earliest settlers in this city, having landed here with the Loyalists in 1783.

26. OLIVER.—1850. After a short illness, Mrs. Isabella Oliver, relict of the late William Sanford Oliver, Esquire, in the 75th year of her age.

27. TAYLOR.—1834. At Fredericton, James Taylor, Senior, Esquire, in the 79th year of his age. Mr. T. was a native of Port Glasgow, Scotland, whence he emigrated to New York in early life, and was in that country at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, in which he was

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actively engaged, and suffered the greatest hardships and privations in many a well fought field in support of the Royal cause. He came to this Province with the Loyalists in the memorable year of 1783, and established himself in Fredericton, (then a wilderness) where he has since resided. He erected the third house in that place, which was only a few months since removed, in order to make room for a new building on the site where it had so long remained.

28. PICKARD.—1847. In the Parish of Douglas, York County, Mr. Moses Pickard, Senior, in the 85th year of his age. Mr. Pickard was one of the first English settlers of the Province, having arrived here when he was only three years old; since which time he has borne the impress of moral worth and religious principle.

29. SMITH.—1855. At Burton, at the residence of N. Hubbard, Esq., Mehetabel, widow of Captain J. Smith, aged 84 years, daughter of the late Joseph Clark, of Maugerville, with whom she came to this Province in 1783.

30. KEANE.—1855. At St. Martins, after a brief illness, Mr. Jeremiah Keane, a native of Waterford, Ireland, aged 76 years. Mr. K. emigrated from his native country fifty years ago, and was the earliest Irish settler in St. Martins, having resided there for the last forty years.

31. FLEMMING.—1839. At Londonderry, (Nova Scotia), aged 60 years, James Flemming, Esquire, one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Colchester, and for many years a member of the House of Assembly for Londonderry—unusually esteemed as a kind friend and an honest and independent man.

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The following is reprinted from the November list, on account of the accidental omission of the year—

18 GREGORY.—1847. At Kingston, (K. C.), Richard P. Gregory, Esq., in the 96th year of his age. He was one of the Loyalists of 1783, and was much respected by all who knew him, and is deservedly regretted by a large circle of friends.

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CANADA, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, etc., with History, Present State, and Prospects of these Colonies in regard to Emigration. London: Cradock & Co., 1843, 16°., 64 pp., map.

FAIRBANKS, E. R. and COCHRAN, A. W.

Report of the trial of Edward Jordan and Margaret Jordan, his wife, for piracy and murder at Halifax, on Nov. 15th, 1809, together with Edward Jordan's dying confession; to which is added the trial of John Kelly, for piracy and murder on Dec. 9th, 1809.

Halifax, Nova Scotia, printed by James Bignall, 1810; 8°.

Edward Jordan was a native of Gaspé, in Lower Canada, he was found guilty of the charges against him and sentenced to death; he was hung on the beach at Fresh Water River. His wife Margaret was acquitted.

[Title and note from catalogue of Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, of London, item 21524. A good copy, priced at £1, 10s. V. H P.]

LECLERCQ, CHRÉTIEN.

Nouvelle | Relation | de la | Gaspesie, | qui contient | Les Mœurs & la Religion, des Sau | vages Gaspesiens Prorte-Croix, | adorateurs du Soleil, & d'autres | Peuples de l'Amerique Septen- | trionale, dite le Canada. | Dedie'e a Madame la | Princesse d'Epinoy, | Par le Pere Chrestien le Clercq, | Missionnaire Recollet de la Province de | Saint Antoine de Pade en Artois, & | Gardien du Convent de Lens. | [Ornament.] |

A Paris, | Chez Amable Auroy, ruë Saint | Jacques, à l'Image S. Jerôme, attenant | la Fontaine S. Severin. | M. DC. XCI. | Avec Privilege du Roy. |

Collation:—Title, with verso blank, 1 leaf; dedicatory epistle, pp. (24); "Privilege du Roi," pp. (2); text pp. 1—572; "Table des Chapitres," pp. (4). Pages 238 and 328 are mispaged 328 and 238, respectively. The two leaves of table of chapters are usually lacking in copies.

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The author describes the origin, manners and customs, language, religion, and superstitions of the Gaspé Indians; and also recounts his experiences amongst them as a missionary. The work is important for the history of missionary activity in New Brunswick and Northeastern Canada. Chrétien LeClercq was born in the province of Artois, France, about 1630, and died at the convent of Lens, France, in 1695. He was a zealous Récollet missionary, and his Gaspesian *Relation* is criticized by Charlevoix (*Nouvelle France*, Vol. 1) as being over-partial to the Récollets, and as slighting the Jesuit order. But a reasonable accounting may be obtained from an appreciation of the conditions which existed under Frontenac—his opposition to and by the latter order, and his partiality for and by the former.

Copies have been priced and sold as follows: Field sale (1875), no. 1306, $5; Squier sale (1876), no. 653. $11.50; priced by Leclerc (1878), no. 746 at 140 francs; Brinley sale (1879), no. 102, $21; Pinart sale (1883), no. 539, 42 francs; Murphy sale (1884), no. 600*, $5.75; priced by Dufossé of Paris (1887), 90 francs, and Barlow sale (1890), no. 1436, $27.50. There are copies in Lenox Library Building, New York; Boston Athenæum; Library of Congress, (U. S.); Brown (private), Providence, R. I.; British Museum; and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. V. H. P.

Le Tac (Le Père Sixte) Récollet.

Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada depuis sa Déconverte (mil cinq cents quarte) jusques en l'an mil six cents trente deux. Publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit original de 1689 et accompagnée de Notes et d'un Appendice tout coèposé de Documents originaux et inédits, par Eug. Réveillaud. Paris, 1888, 12° pp. (6), ix, 265.

*** Only 300 copies of the volume were issued. It contains a good deal relative to Acadia. The appendix (pp. 173—262) publishes for the first time a quantity of important papers of the Récollêts, from the "Archives de la Préfecture de Versailles."

V. H. P.

It may be an indication of the value people place on their copies of this Magazine that only one or two copies of the July number have been received in response to the request made last month. The offer of fifteen cents for each of such copies is now repeated, or the full set of six copies up to date will be purchased for sixty cents a set. Here is a chance for any who do not intend to preserve the Magazine to get their money back, so that their reading for the last six months will cost them only fifteen cents.

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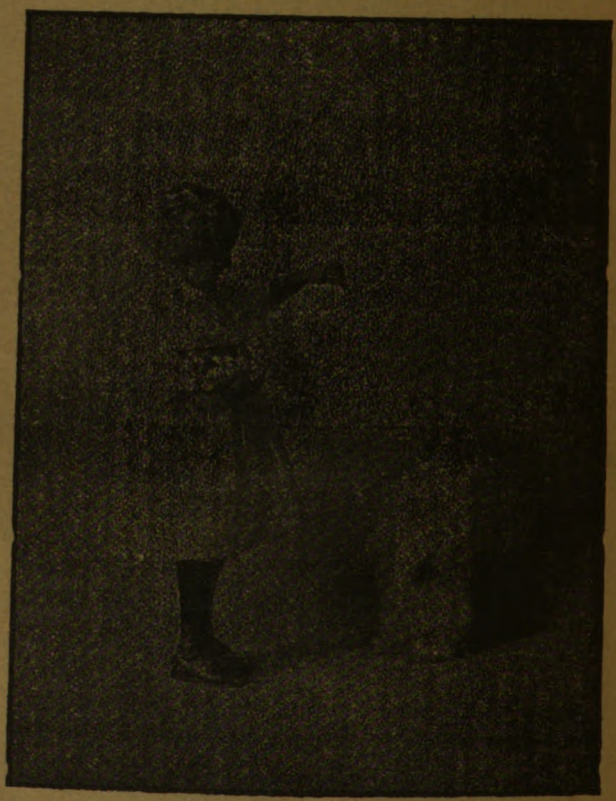
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